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HISTORY AND ETHNOGRAPHY

OF

AFRICA SOUTH OF THE ZAMBESI

VOL. I.

1505 to 1795

By Dr. G. M. THEAL.

SERIES I.

HISTORY AND ETHNOGRAPHY OF AFRICA SOUTH OF THE ZAMBESI.

FROM THE SETTLEMENT OF THE PORTUGUESE AT SOFALA IN SEPTEMBER, 1505, TO THE CONQUEST OF THE CAPE COLONY BY THE BRITISH IN SEPTEMBER, 1795.

VOL. I.—The Portuguese in South Africa from 1505 to 1700.

VOL. II.—Formation of the Cape Colony by the Dutch. [*In prep.*

VOL. III.—Account of the Dutch, Portuguese, Hottentots, and Bantu. [*In prep.*

SERIES II.

HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA UNDER THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

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AFRICA SOUTH OF THE ZAMBESI

FROM THE SETTLEMENT OF THE PORTUGUESE AT SOFALA IN SEPTEMBER 1505 TO THE CONQUEST OF THE CAPE COLONY BY THE BRITISH IN SEPTEMBER 1795,

BY

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IN THREE VOLUMES

WITH MAPS AND PLATES

VOL. I.

THE PORTUGUESE IN SOUTH AFRICA FROM 1505 TO 1700

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PREFACE.

In this, the third edition of my history of South Africa before the conquest of the Cape Colony by Great Britain in September 1795, I have added so largely to the information previously given concerning the Bushmen, or the aborigines of the country, the Hottentots, and particularly the Bantu immigrants, that I think it right to alter the old title by inserting the words "and Ethnography" in it.

Each volume, as before, covers a distinct period, and may therefore be regarded to some extent as a complete work of itself. Thus, the one in the reader's hands deals with the Portuguese in South Africa before the close of the seventeenth century, volume ii is devoted to an account of the Dutch colony in its early days, and volume iii brings the whole down to the fall of the Netherlands East India Company and the substitution of the British for the Dutch flag on the castle of Good Hope.

The history of South Africa after the British conquest forms a separate work, and consists of five volumes, including one just sent to the press.

Before I entered the civil service of the Cape Colony in 1877 I had been engaged for many years in studying the traditions, habits, and power of thought of the Bantu tribes of the south-eastern coast, and the knowledge gained thereby led, on the outbreak of the ninth war with the Xosas, to my being requested by Governor Sir Bartle Frere to fill a post then considered to be one of considerable difficulty. I had already prepared a short History and Geography of South Africa, which was printed at the Lovedale missionary institution, and quickly passed through three editions. I had also collected among different Bantu tribes a number

of folklore tales, some of which were published in magazines, and others at a later date in a small volume issued in London. I had likewise gradually got together an excellent library of books in different languages relating to South Africa, but had not been able to consult the early manuscript records of the Portuguese, Dutch, or English governments, which, indeed, were then generally believed to have perished.

An opportunity to make the researches necessary for a larger and more accurate history than the one I had already prepared was given to me by the different ministers of the Cape Colony that held office from the 9th of May 1881 to the 21st of February 1904, who provided me with such employment that I had access to records of all kinds out of office hours. While nearly every member of those ministries expressed a warm interest in the work I was doing, I must particularly mention the names of three men to whom I am deeply indebted for encouragement and such assistance as I have mentioned.

The first of these is the honourable J. W. Sauer, always the staunch supporter of thorough research, a close student of history himself, and interested to a very high degree in South African ethnology. To him I owe so much that I am well within the bounds of truth when I say that without his aid these volumes could not have been written. To him students are indebted for the publication of the *Basutoland Records* and the *Genealogical Register of old Cape Families*, for both were carried out by his instructions.

The second is the late right honourable C. J. Rhodes. It was by his wish that the Dutch edition of one of my books was published, and it was he who initiated my visit to different archive offices in Europe in search of ancient records relating to the Portuguese in South Africa and to the Bantu. On this duty I was engaged from 1896 to 1904, though, as was always the case in South Africa, I had other work more properly c nnected with the duties of a civil servant to do during ordinary office hours. In

this instance my regular employment was the copying and publication of the English records of the Cape Colony commencing with the year 1793, to be found in the Public Record Office, the Colonial Office, and the Library of the British Museum in London, but I was allowed the privilege of working three or four hours every day beyond those usually spent by public servants in offices, and making use of as much time as was gained in this manner in researches on the continent. I cannot sufficiently express my gratitude to the ministers who gave me this privilege, and I think I can add that I did not abuse it, for during the nine years that I was so engaged I published for the Cape government thirty-six volumes of those English records, all minutely indexed. In referring at the end of volume iii of this work to the nine volumes of Portuguese *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, with English translations, that I also published during this time, I shall speak more fully of the part taken by Mr. Rhodes in this matter.

The third is the right honourable Sir J. Gordon Sprigg, than whom no one could have shown more sympathy with this work than he did from the time that he succeeded Mr. Rhodes as prime minister to the day when he vacated office in February 1904. It was with him and with the honourable W. P. Schreiner—who also during his term of office as prime minister expressed warm interest in the researches I was making—that all my official correspondence was carried on during the time I was engaged in Europe down to February 1904. In every way that was possible, consistently with public duty, I received encouragement from Sir Gordon Sprigg.

To different governors of the Cape Colony I am likewise indebted for the interest they took in my work. Sir Bartle Frere, the highly gifted, assisted me in various ways, planned out sections for me, discussed various details, and the last letter that ever he wrote, or one of the very last, was to me in connection with it. His interest in South Africa ceased only with his life.

Cheery Sir George Grey, as long as his faculties lasted, corresponded with me about it and gave me information of importance. He was a man whose good opinion any one might have been proud of having.

To Lord Loch too, who as high commissioner often entrusted me with duties connected with Bantu beyond the Cape Colony, and who in that way gave me opportunities of acquiring information of value, whose warm letter of sympathy when many of my books and all my papers were destroyed by fire I cannot forget, my sincere thanks are due.

Another honoured name that demands acknowledgment from me is that of President Brand, the peacemaker of South Africa. He threw open to me the archives of the Orange Free State without any reserve, supplied me with the proceedings of the volksraad and all printed papers as soon as they were issued, and expressed his desire to assist me in any way that he could.

President and governors and Mr. Rhodes are all now in the silent land, where my voice of thanks can no longer reach them, but to their memories what I have said is due. They held opinions in politics differing widely from each other, and I avoided politics most carefully in order that my narrative should be absolutely unbiassed, but they all approved of my motive and did what they could to forward my work. Many other names too of individuals connected with South Africa I might mention, but it is impossible to place on record more than these.

Generally to the officers of archive departments and public libraries in London, Paris, Rome, the Hague, and elsewhere, I am under obligation for unceasing kindness and courtesy in assisting me, though I fear I must often have given them more than a little trouble. Many a time have some of them gone far beyond their official duty in trying to help me, when they noticed how anxious I was not to lose a moment that could be made use of.

And now my work is brought to a close, though it does not extend so far into the past as I hoped before 1904 to

carry it. I cannot say, for I do not know, why the ministry that came into power in February 1904 chose to bring my researches to an end. I can only say that pecuniary reasons had nothing whatever to do with it, for it would not have cost the public treasury a sixpence had I been permitted to continue my work two or three years longer in the manner I proposed, but which was not agreed to. I had reached one of the most important periods in the past of South Africa, and not unnaturally my inclination was to make researches in it and to complete as far as was in my power the work that so many of the highest intellects in the country had taken an interest in. The ministry decided otherwise, and as my pecuniary means would not admit of the severance of my connection with the government in order to go on with it, there was nothing for me but to carry out the instructions I received. I then turned my attention from collecting more materials, probably for other men to use, to making use myself of a quantity of material already in my possession, and which I have incorporated in the edition of my *History and Ethnography* now being issued. I must therefore beg of my readers to be generous and forgive me for the shortcomings in my book, for commencing my narrative with the arrival of the Portuguese instead of with the crossing of the Zambesi by the first Bantu invaders of the south and giving a detailed account of the movements of the tribes thereafter. That must be done by some other hand more favoured by fortune than mine.

GEO. M. THEAL.

WYNBERG, CAPE COLONY, *May*, 1907.

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HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA.

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLIEST INHABITANTS OF SOUTH AFRICA, TERMED BY EUROPEANS BUSHMEN, BY THE HOTTENTOTS SANA, BY THE BANTU OF THE EASTERN COAST ABATWA, BY THE BANTU OF THE WESTERN COAST OVATWA, BY THE BANTU OF THE INTERIOR BAROA.

In the present condition of geological knowledge it is impossible to determine whether South Africa has been the home of human beings for as long a time as Europe, but it is certain that men have roamed over its surface from an exceedingly remote period. The ancient shell mounds along the coast are usually regarded as furnishing one proof of this fact. The first of these that was examined carefully was a heap formerly to be seen in a cave at Mossel Bay, but one much larger has of late years been discovered on the left bank of a tributary of the Buffalo river at East London. Its discovery was due to the opening of a way to a quarry, for it had the semblance of a natural mound, being covered with a deep layer of vegetable soil, in which trees were growing; and this appearance it had presented as far back as could be traced. Upon examination — which was very thorough, as over thirty-two thousand cubic metres of it were removed to fill a lagoon—it was found to consist of a mass 45·72 metres or one hundred and fifty feet long and 12·19 metres or forty feet deep, composed of oyster, mussel, and other shells, mixed with bones of animals of

various kinds, ashes, and pieces of coarse pottery. No stone implements were obtained in it, but stones showing the action of fire were common.

The most ancient shell heaps that have yet been discovered, however, may have had their origin at a time not vastly remote, though beyond doubt a great many centuries must have passed away since such a one as that at East London began to be formed. Much older are various stone implements shaped by human hands, which have been found in situations where they must have lain undisturbed for an incalculable length of time. They have been picked up, for instance, in gravel washed by a stream into a recess when its bed of hard rock was more than twelve metres higher than it is at present; in a stratum of clay that once was the muddy bottom of a pond, but is now the crown of a hill, and where they must have been deposited before the commencement of the wearing down of the ravine that separates the hill from a long slope beyond it; and at great depths in æolian rock, where bones of animals and shells are also found.*

None of the arrowheads, spearheads, scrapers, knives, or choppers for cracking bones found in these ancient deposits were ground or polished, as chipping comprised all the labour that was bestowed upon them. They were the products of the skill of man in the lowest stage of his existence. Workshops where they were manufactured have been discovered in various places, and to some of these the raw material, or unchipped stone, must have been brought from a considerable distance. The artisans may have lived there permanently, or, what is more probable, some superstition may have been connected with the localities. At these factories a quantity of stone from which flakes have been struck, some raw material, a very few finished articles,

* See the paper on *The Antiquity of Man in South Africa*, by George R. Mackay, Esqre., in the pamphlet No. 2 of *Belangrijke Historische Dokumenten*, published by me in Capetown in 1896. See also the numerous proofs given by Mr. G. W. Stow in his volume on *The Native Races of South Africa*, edited by me, and published in London in 1905.

and a great many broken ones usually lie wholly or partially hidden by drift sand or mould, and it is generally by accident that they are discovered.

The most ancient implements were almost as skilfully made as those in use for similar purposes by the people termed by us Bushmen when Europeans first visited the country, but during the long period that must have elapsed the inventive faculty of man had not been entirely idle. One implement at least, and that one requiring more skill, time, and patience to prepare it than were needed in forming any of the others, had been brought into general use. The spherical perforated stone, which is not found in any of the oldest deposits, shows a considerable advance in art upon the chipped lancehead of the early river gravel washings. Still, progress, though thus measurable, was exceedingly slow during the countless centuries that had passed away. In the earliest stages of man's development three principal causes must have operated in forcing him to think: hunger, disease, and war. These were the elementary factors of civilisation. In favourable localities in other parts of the world commerce, as a powerful factor, came at a later period, but in South Africa that stage was not easily arrived at.

This is apparent if the physical condition of the country be considered. The land rises from the ocean level in terraces or steps, until a vast interior plain is reached. Deep gorges have been worn by the action of water, in some places internal forces have caused elevations, in other places depressions, and everywhere along the margins of the terraces distortions may be seen. There are no navigable rivers, and the coast is bold and unbroken. The steep fronts of the terraces, which from the lower side appear to be mountain ranges, and the absence of running water in dry seasons over large surfaces, tended likewise to prevent intercourse between the different parts of the country. The rude people of each section were left to themselves, without that stimulus to improvement which contact with strangers gives. There was very little necessity to exert the mind to provide

clothing or habitations, for the climate is mild, and even on the elevated interior plain, though the nights in winter are sharp and cold, snow never lies long on the ground. Like the wild animals, man on occasions of severe weather could find some temporary shelter. In this respect a savage is far more callous than a civilised man.

Hunger must have forced him to think, to plan the destruction of game, to search for edible plants, and to reject those that were noxious; but after becoming acquainted with the flora in his locality and with the use of poison in the chase, that factor would lose much of its potency. The cultivation of the ground or the domestication of animals could no more enter the mind of a savage in the early palæolithic stage than into that of a child learning to walk. Disease would compel him to think, but only in an exceedingly slight degree when compared with a modern European, for his ailments were few and were in general attributed to witchcraft. War, whether against his fellows or the powerful carnivora, would be a more important factor in obliging him to exercise his mind, and to it probably was due the gradual though tardy improvement in his weapons by the selection of harder stone and by fashioning them more carefully. But slow indeed was the progress in cultivation from the hunter who used the roughly formed spearhead of shale found in the æolian conglomerate to the Bushman who shot his bone-tipped arrow at an antelope only a century ago.

The Bushmen occupied the whole of South Africa, except possibly the belt bordering on the Indian ocean between the Zambesi and Limpopo rivers, until a century or two before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by Europeans, when they were deprived of a considerable portion of it by the people known to us as Hottentots and Bantu, who came down from the north. Being better armed and disciplined than the aboriginal savages, the invaders had little difficulty in exterminating them or driving them into the barren parts.

The variations between the three classes of human beings occupying the country after that event were very marked. In order to bring them clearly before the reader they are given here in consecutive paragraphs, though this chapter deals particularly with the primitive inhabitants only.

Bushmen: frame dwarfish,* colour yellowish brown, face triangular or foxlike in outline, eyes small and deeply sunk, root of nose low, and the whole organ extremely broad, jaws very protuberant, but upper part of face almost vertical, head dotted over with little knots of twisted hair not much larger than peppercorns, no beard whatever, ears without lobes, stomach protuberant, back exceedingly hollow, limbs slender, hands and feet diminutive; weapons bow and poisoned arrow; pursuits those of a hunter; government none but parental and leadership in war or the chase; habitations caverns or mats spread over slight frames made of branches of trees; domestic animal only the dog; demeanour that of perfect independence; language abounding in clicks and in deep guttural sounds.

Hottentots: frame slight but sometimes tall, better formed than Bushmen, but back hollow, head scantily covered with little tufts of short crisped hair, occasional marks of beard, cheeks hollow, nose flat, eyes far apart and often to appearance set obliquely, hands and feet small, colour yellow to olive; weapons assagai, knobkerie, bow and arrow, shield; pursuits pastoral and to a very limited extent metallurgic; government feeble; habitations slender frames of wood covered with reed mats; domestic animals ox, sheep, and dog; demeanour inconstant, marked by levity; language abounding in clicks.

Bantu: frame of those on the coast generally robust and as well formed as that of Europeans, of those in the interior somewhat weaker, head covered closely with crispy hair,

*Occasionally among the Masarwa, or Bushmen of the Betshuana country, individuals over one hundred and sixty-seven centimetres or five feet and a half in height are found, but these are to a certainty mixed breeds. They show Bantu blood in their darker colour as well as in their general form and size.

frequently bearded, cheeks full, nose usually flat but occasionally prominent, hands and feet large, colour chocolate brown to deep black; weapons assagai, knobkerie, shield, and among the northern and interior tribes battle-axe and bow and arrow; pursuits agricultural, pastoral, and metallurgic; government firmly constituted, with perfect system of laws; habitations strong framework of wood covered with thatch; domestic animals ox, goat, sheep, dog, barnyard poultry; demeanour ceremonious, grave, respectful to superiors in rank; language musical, words abounding in vowels and inflected to produce harmony in sound.

The skull measurements show great differences in the three classes, though the number — especially of Hottentot skulls—carefully examined by competent men is as yet too small for an average to be laid down with absolute precision.

What is termed the horizontal cephalic index, that is the proportion of the breadth of a skull to its length, is given by Professor Sir William Flower, conservator of the museum of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, from thirteen Bantu specimens as 73 to 100. The highest in this series is 76·8, and the lowest 68·4. Dr. Gustaf Fritsch, from thirteen specimens, gives the average as 72 to 100. The highest in this series is 78, and the lowest 64·3. M. Paul Broca, the French authority, gives the average of his measurements as 72. Thus the Bantu are dolichocephali, that is people whose skulls average in breadth less than three-fourths of their length. The average horizontal cephalic index of white people is 78·7.

Of Hottentots, only four that are certainly genuine specimens are given in Professor Flower's volume. The average horizontal cephalic index of these is 72·7, the highest being 75, and the lowest 70·3. Dr. Fritsch had also only four skulls which were certainly those of Hottentots. The average horizontal cephalic index of these he found to be 72·6, the highest being 77, and the lowest 65·9. M. Broca gives this index from his measurements as 72. The Hottentots are thus certainly true dolichocephali. But even

in those that are regarded as pure Hottentot there may have been a mixture of Bushman blood, from causes that will be explained in the next chapter, so that the skull measurements are not altogether to be depended upon. This, however, would have raised the average, not lowered it.

Of genuine Bushman skulls, Professor Flower gives the measurements of five. The average horizontal cephalic index is 76·6, the highest being 78·4, and the lowest 75·7. The late Dr. George Rolleston, professor of anatomy in the University of Oxford, in an appendix to Oates' *Matabeleland*, gives the measurements of six Bushman skulls in the museum of the university. The average horizontal cephalic index he found to be 75·7, the highest being 81, and the lowest 70. Dr. Fritsch measured five Bushman skulls, and found the average horizontal cephalic index 74·2, the highest being 78·5, and the lowest 69·5. M. Broca found the average of his measurements as low as 72, but it is doubtful whether his specimens were not Hottentot skulls. It would appear that the Bushmen are on the border line separating the dolichocephalic from the mesaticephalic races, the breadth of skulls of the latter averaging between three-fourths and four-fifths of the length.

The cranial capacity, or size of the brain of each, is given by Professor Flower as: Bantu 1485, Hottentot 1407, and Bushman 1288 cubic centimetres. The average brain of a European is 1497 cubic centimetres in size. Dr. Rolleston found the average cranial capacity of his six Bushman specimens as low as 1195 cubic centimetres, and all other recorded measurements place these people among the extreme microcephalic or small-skulled races. The Hottentots in this classification are mesocephali, a name applied to races whose average cranial capacity is between 1350 and 1450 cubic centimetres, and the Bantu, like Europeans, are megacephali or large-skulled.

The alveolar index, index of prognathism, or the slope of a line from the top of the forehead to the point in the upper jaw between the insertion of the front teeth, is an

important characteristic. According to the angle which this line makes with the horizontal plane of the skull, races are classified as orthognathous, mesognathous, or prognathous. In this classification the Bushman comes nearest the European, his face above the upper jaw being much more vertical than that of either of the others. Between the Hottentots and the Bantu there is scarcely any difference.

A marked feature of the Bushman skull is the smallness of the lower jaw and the want of prominence of the chin. In this respect he is among the least advanced of all races. The lower jaw of the Hottentot is much better formed, but is not by any means as massive as that of a member of the Bantu family or a European. The skulls of the three classes of people above described also differ from each other and from those of Europeans in many particulars which are only intelligible to professional anatomists. The subject can be studied in special works, and it is not necessary therefore to enter more deeply into it here.

The pigmy hunters, who were the primitive inhabitants of South Africa, received from the first European colonists the name of Bushmen, on account of their preference for places abounding in bushes, where they had a wonderful faculty of concealing themselves, partly owing to the colour of their skins being almost the same as that of the soil. They were members of a race that in early ages was spread over the whole continent south of the Sahara, and of which remnants still exist on both sides of the equator.

The locality in which this race had its origin is quite uncertain. The Bushmen show affinities, as Dr. Bleek has pointed out, with tribes in Australia, and, as Mr. Stow has shown, with sections of the Mongolian race, which might lead to the conclusion that they were offshoots of some primitive stock that threw out branches in different directions in the early days of man's existence on the earth. They cannot have come down from the north after the occupation of Central Africa by the Bantu, so that wherever they came from, their migration must have been at a very remote

period. It was probably a slow but steady advance from some uncertain locality, occasioned by an increase of numbers at a time when large areas of land were needed for the support of a few individuals in the lowest stage of human existence.

Their language has not been examined very carefully, except by the late Dr. Bleek and by Miss L. C. Lloyd, whose researches have only partly been published. It is known, however, to be low in order as a means of expressing any but the simplest ideas, and to be divided into a great number of dialects, some of which vary as widely as English from German. Many of its apparent roots are polysyllabic, but there is a doubt whether some of these are not really composites. It is so irregular in its construction that the plural of nouns is often formed by reduplication, as if we should say "dog dog" instead of "dogs," and sometimes the plural is expressed by a word which has nothing in common with the singular. Yet there is an instance of a dual form in the first personal pronoun. In none of the dialects has any word for a numeral higher than three been discovered, from that number up to ten being indicated by showing fingers or by repetition, thus two two for four, two two one for five, two two two two one for nine. Any number beyond ten was simply termed a great many. Dr. Bleek and Miss Lloyd found that the language could be represented in writing, though to the ear it sounds like a continuous clattering combined with hoarse sounds proceeding from the depths of the throat.

After the advent of the Hottentots and the Bantu the great majority of the Bushmen were driven from the choicest portions of South Africa, though a few managed to hold their own for a long time in the tracts occupied by the intruders. The arid interior plain south of the Orange and the Vaal and the rugged mountains, however, were still entirely in their possession when Europeans made their first appearance in the country. Though regarded

and spoken of by the Hottentots and the Bantu as wild animals of a noxious kind that should be exterminated, in one particular this opinion was not acted upon. Bushman girls when captured were generally kept as concubines by the destroyers of their families, and thus a mixture of blood was gradually taking place. Hottentot and Bantu women on the other hand would have looked with horror upon intimacy between Bushmen and themselves.

A cave with its opening protected by a few branches of trees, or the centre of a small circle of bushes over which mats or skins of wild animals were stretched, was the best dwelling that they aspired to possess. Failing either of these, they scooped a hole in the ground, placed a few stones round it or bent a few sticks over it, and spread a mat or a skin above to serve as a roof. A little grass at the bottom of the hole formed a bed, and though it was not much larger than the nest of an ostrich, an individual by bending the body into a curve could lie down in it. Each person, male or female, except young children, in such circumstances thus required a separate reposing place.

The ordinary food of these people consisted of roots, berries, wild plants, grass seed, locusts, larvæ of ants—now commonly called Bushman rice by European colonists,—honey, gum, fish, reptiles, birds, and mammalia of all kinds. No chance of plundering the intruding tribes of domestic cattle was allowed to escape them. They were capable of remaining a long time without food,* and could then devour immense quantities of meat without any ill effects. They were careless of the future, and were happy if the wants of the moment were supplied. Thus, when a large animal was killed, no trouble was taken to preserve a portion of its flesh, but the time was spent in alternate gorging, sleeping, and dancing, until not a particle of carrion was

*Dr. Alfred Hillier, who has made a special study of these people, is of opinion that this is at least partly due to the great quantity of adipose matter stored up in their protuberant buttocks, which is most observable when they have abundance of food.

left. When a drove of domestic cattle was stolen, several were slaughtered at once and their carcases shared with birds of prey, while if their recapture was considered possible, every animal was hamstrung or killed.

Such wanton destruction, more than any other circumstance, caused the wild people to be detested by the Hottentots and the Bantu, as well as by the European colonists at a later date. From their point of view, however, they regarded any injury they could inflict upon the members of other races as justifiable. Those races were intruders into the land that had been in the sole possession of their ancestors from the earliest times, the game, which was their cattle, was killed without scruple by the invaders of their domains, their fountains and streams were appropriated without their consent, only the deserts were left to them; why then should they not retaliate, and do as much harm as they possibly could to those who had done such grievous wrong to them?

In some parts of the country the Bushmen made long walls by piling up stones, for the purpose of capturing game. These walls were constructed in the form of the sides of an isosceles triangle, with a narrow open space at the apex. Just beyond this was a deep pit carefully covered over, into which the animals that were driven forward fell without chance of escape. The construction of these walls required much labour, but the hunters were not deficient in energy when the capture of game was the end in view, and the embankments were probably only gradually lengthened and increased in height as the utility of the device became more apparent. They made pits for entrapping the elephant and the hippopotamus at the approaches to rivers, and poisoned pools of water, so that any animal which drank perished. Those who lived in the vicinity of streams containing fish used long baskets shaped like scoop nets made of reeds for the purpose of capturing the smaller kinds, and speared the huge barbels and yellow fish with harpoons of bone.

Honey was obtained in many localities in large quantities. The bees frequently make their hives in crevices in the faces of precipices, but it was a very lofty precipice that a Bushman would not scale or be lowered down from above to secure the spoil. A peg driven into a crack in the rock or any little projecting ledge gave him a foothold, and no baboon would venture where he feared to go. The comb was used for food, but most of the honey was fermented and consumed as an intoxicant. The Bushmen were inveterate smokers of dacha or wild hemp, a plant widely distributed in South Africa, and which possesses great intoxicating properties.

Their weapons were bows and arrows. The bows were nothing more than pieces of saplings or branches of trees scraped down a little and strung with a cord formed by twisting together the sinews of animals. It was thus almost useless in wet weather, as the cord when damp was liable to relax, so at such times the Bushmen never went abroad. The arrows were made of reeds, pointed generally with bone, but sometimes with chipped stone flakes. The arrow-head and the lashing by which it was secured to the reed were coated with a deadly poison, so that the slightest wound caused death. The arrows were carried in a quiver usually made of the bark of a species of euphorbia, which is still called by Europeans in South Africa the kokerboom or quiver tree. They were formidable chiefly on account of the poison, as they could not be projected with accuracy to a distance of over fifty metres, and from their frailty had in general little penetrating power. The most expert Bushmen were able to discharge arrows in very rapid succession and at short distances with a fairly accurate aim.

They — or at least some of them — were acquainted with antidotes to the poisons which they used, but were very careful not to inflict wounds upon themselves or even to allow the deadly substance to come in contact with any part of their bodies. The poisons were obtained from snakes, some kinds of caterpillars, and different shrubs.

With the flora in his neighbourhood the Bushman was much better acquainted than Europeans who are not botanists in general are. He knew the qualities of every plant, could at once select those that were edible and reject those that were noxious, and could even make use of those with medicinal properties in case of illness. In this branch of knowledge he had been educated by his mother, when as a little child he went with her daily to seek for food.

The Bushmen used stone flakes for various purposes, but took no trouble to polish them or give them a neat appearance. Many implements were commonly made of horn or bone. There was a stone implement, however, upon which a large amount of care and labour was bestowed in general use among these people when Europeans first became acquainted with them, though it was unknown in very remote times. It was a little spherical boulder, from nine to fourteen centimetres or $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, such as may be picked up in abundance in many parts of the country, through the centre of which the Bushman drilled a hole large enough to receive a digging-stick, to which it gave weight. With the tools at his disposal, this must have required much time and patience, so that in his eyes a stone when drilled undoubtedly had a very high value. On it he depended for food in seasons of drought, when all the game had fled from his part of the country. Drilled stones of smaller size have occasionally been found in places once the favourite abodes of Bushmen, but from which those savages have long since disappeared. None not sufficiently large to give weight to a digging-stick have been seen in use by any European who has put his observations on record, but it is conjectured that they were intended as amulets.

Mr. Stow mentions various implements of stone which were manufactured by Bushmen with much labour and skill, but these were only produced after their contact with other races, and were confined to small localities. None of them surpassed the common drilled spherical weight as a work of labour or art, except perhaps a pipe bowl of soft material

which was found in a cave residence, and which may, or may not, have been fashioned by their hands.

There is no record of a European having ever seen a Bushman manufacturing other stone implements than knives and arrowheads, and no one except Mr. Stow appears to have made inquiry into the matter until it was impossible to derive any information from the people themselves. Even he commenced his investigations at least half a century too late to gain full knowledge of the matter. But as the various crude unpolished implements found in all parts of South Africa were in use by the Bushmen when white men first came in contact with those savages, there can be no doubt that they fashioned them.

In many other parts of the world perforated stones are plentiful, but most of them differ in some respects from those drilled by the Bushmen, which were all of one type. In the Antiquarian Museum at Edinburgh there is a very fine collection of such stones found in Scotland. There are small ones evidently used in comparatively recent times as weights for nets and in spinning, there are enormously large ones also of not very ancient manufacture, and there are many of the usual size of the Bushman implement. Some are elegantly ornamented, showing the use of tools of metal. Others have holes the same size throughout, leading to a similar conclusion. Those that have holes narrowing from both sides towards the centre, like all the Bushman stones, are usually flat at top and bottom, not globular in form. The Bushman for some unknown reason preferred an approximate sphere, thus any observant eye with a series of each in view would at once detect that they were made by different classes of workmen.

A few chipped flakes and other weapons of stone much larger than those ordinarily used by Bushmen have been picked up in the interior of South Africa, and these have given rise to an opinion that the country may once have been occupied by more robust savages. Myths have been gathered from Bushmen themselves, in which they speak of an older race. But weapons made by Hottentots for their

own use could have been taken from them and removed to a great distance by their puny enemies, and the myths probably refer to the supplanting of one horde by another in a particular locality. There is no other evidence—at least of a trustworthy nature — that the Bushmen were not the earliest inhabitants of South Africa, and this seems altogether too slight a foundation to build a theory upon.*

People in a low condition of society do not use clothing for purposes of modesty, but to protect themselves against inclement weather. And as the Bushmen were hardly affected by any degree of either heat or cold that is experienced in South Africa, whether on the plains in midsummer or on the mountains in midwinter, the raiment of the males was usually scanty, and in the chase was thrown entirely aside. At the best it consisted merely of the skin of an animal wrapped round the person. Adult females wore a little apron, and fastened a skin over their shoulders. Both sexes used belts, which in times of scarcity they tightened to assuage the pangs of hunger, and on festive occasions they rubbed their bodies with grease and coloured clays or soot, sometimes powdered with aromatic plants such as buchu, which made them even more ugly than they were by nature.

When the men expected to meet an enemy, they fastened their arrows in an erect position round their heads, in order

* The traveller Andrew A. Anderson, in his *Twenty-five Years in a Waggon in South Africa*, describes some savages that he met in the Kalahari as lower in the scale even than ordinary Bushmen, and he was of opinion that they belonged to an older race. But all Bushmen were not exactly alike, a great deal depending upon the circumstances in which they lived, and the degraded beings seen by him, scarcely human in appearance and mode of existence, probably bore the same relation to the more favoured specimens of the race that the wretched Bakalahari bear to the Bakwena among the Bantu of the interior. It must be added, however, that there is a tradition among the people of a Bantu tribe in the Transvaal that when their ancestors arrived on the banks of the Limpopo eight generations ago they found some savages there who were unacquainted with the use of fire and were without other weapons than natural stones and sticks.

to appear as formidable as possible. But they never exposed themselves unnecessarily to danger, and tried always to attack from an ambush or a place that would give them the advantage of striking the first blow before their adversaries were aware of their presence. A poisoned arrow, shot from a little scrub in which a Bushman was lying concealed, often ended the career of an unwary Hottentot traveller.

The Bushmen wore few ornaments, not because they were careless about decorating their persons, but because it was difficult to obtain anything for the purpose. They were without metals of any kind, and in the vast interior, as they knew nothing of commerce, they could not obtain sea-shells. The best they could aspire to was to cut little circular disks of tortoise and ostrich egg shell, drill holes in them, and string them on thongs. It requires some reflection to realise the amount of patient labour expended upon a single ornament of this kind, manufactured with stone and bone implements. In other cases they made grooves round the teeth of animals, and then strung a number together. These ornaments were worn on the forehead, and round the neck, arms, waist, and legs. Sometimes a cord of sinew was passed through the nose and ostrich egg-shell disks were strung on each side, which then hung over the cheeks.

A consideration of how much value such a simple implement as a tinder-box would have had to these people may aid in enabling a European to comprehend the life that they led. They knew how to obtain fire by twirling a piece of wood round rapidly in the socket of another piece, but the preparation of the apparatus took much time, and a considerable amount of labour was needed to produce a flame. Under these circumstances it was a task of the women to preserve a fire when once made, and as they moved their habitations to a large animal when it was killed, instead of trying to carry the meat away, this was often a difficult matter. Sometimes it necessitated carrying a burning stick for four or five hours, or, when it was

nearly consumed, kindling a fire for the sole purpose of getting another brand to go on with. No small amount of labour would therefore have been saved by the possession of a flint and a piece of steel.

These wild people lived in little communities, often consisting of only a few families. It was impossible for a large number, such as would constitute an important tribe, to gain a subsistence solely from the chase and the natural products of the earth in any part of South Africa at any time, and more especially after the Hottentots and the Bantu had taken possession of the choicest sections. When a Bushman tribe is spoken of therefore, the term implies only a puny horde never exceeding two or three hundred souls at most. Such a band claimed the right to a fairly well defined tract of country, and any aggression beyond its borders would naturally be resented by the occupants of the next section. If a mountain intervened, the probabilities would be that the dialects of the language spoken on the different sides would vary so greatly as to prevent intercourse, had there been no other cause to keep each little band within its own bounds. Mr. Stow ascertained that these groups called themselves by the names of the animals that were depicted on the walls of their principal caves or engraved on the rocks at their principal residences, thus one band would be the people of the ostrich, another the people of the python, another the people of the eland, and so on.

The early Dutch colonists observed that they were amazingly prolific, a circumstance that is not surprising if one reflects that they were much less subject to disease than Europeans, and that every woman without exception bore children. Their numbers must therefore in remote times have been kept down by war or violence among themselves, just as they were kept down by constant strife in the territory bordering on that occupied by the Hottentots and Bantu after the intrusion of those races. In such a condition of society there could never have been peace for

any length of time, for with a rapid growth of population the only alternatives would have been aggression or death from famine.

There was a difference in the disposition of individual Bushmen, though not to the same extent as is seen in civilised people. Towards the races that despoiled them of their game and their hunting grounds it was but natural that they should show vindictiveness and relentless cruelty; but they were fierce and passionate in their dealings with each other. Human life, even that of their nearest kindred, was sacrificed on very slight provocation. They did not understand what quarter in battle meant, and as they never spared an enemy who was in their power, when themselves surrounded so that all hope of escape was gone, they fought till their last man fell. Yet after the colonisation of the country Europeans often observed that many of those who lived temporarily on farms at a distance from their former abodes were not insensible to acts of kindness, and were even capable of feeling gratitude. In this respect they were like those wild animals that in a state of restraint show attachment to their keepers. A pleasing trait in their character was fidelity in positions of trust. At the beginning of the nineteenth century many colonial farmers were in the habit of entrusting herds of cattle to the care of Bushmen in their neighbourhood, supplying them with food and tobacco in return, and seldom found them unfaithful. Another favourable feature was that no distress was so great as to induce them to devour human flesh, as so many Bantu were in the habit of doing.

Their manner of living was such as to develop only qualities essential to hunters. In keenness of vision and fleetness of foot they were surpassed by no people on earth, they could travel immense distances without taking rest, they could scale mountains and steep rocks with the agility of baboons, and yet their frames were so feeble as to be incapable of protracted labour. Their sense of smell was so dull that they experienced no sense of discomfort

from remaining for days together close to carrion, and their cave dwellings were disgustingly filthy. The stench from their persons was excessive, owing chiefly to their uncleanly habits and to their use of rancid grease when painting themselves for any festivity.

They possessed an intense love of liberty and of their wild animal way of life. Given only an abundance of food, especially of the flesh of game, and they were cheerful and merry in the highest degree. Mr. Stow states that before the intrusion of the stronger races they were governed by hereditary chiefs, and even down to our own times there have been claimants to such positions. But these chiefs were mere leaders in war and hunting exploits, and their rule did not extend to the exercise of judicial control. Far more than is the case among people possessing domestic cattle, each man was independent of every other. Even parental authority was commonly disregarded by a youth as soon as he could provide for his own wants.

Mr. Stow states that polygamy was common among the Bushmen in the days of their undisputed possession of the country; in modern times, however, the instances of a man living with more than one woman at a time have been exceedingly rare. Miss Lloyd, after long inquiry, could learn of but one such case, and other investigators could hear of none whatever. That is not to say that one male and one female attached themselves to each other for life, though this may often have occurred; but that as long as they lived together a second man or a second woman was not admitted as a member of the family. Their passionate tempers prevented the presence of rivals in the same abode. Chastity, however, was unknown and uncared for, and any disagreement was sufficient to cause the separation of the man and woman, when new connections could immediately be formed by both. In general there was no marriage ceremony, the mere consent of both parties being all that was needed, but in some of the communities a youth who desired to take to himself a girl was

obliged to prove himself a man by fighting with others for her and winning her by victory.

The Bushmen possessed several musical instruments, but all of the crudest kind. The most common was a bow, with a piece of quill attached in the cord, with which by blowing and inhaling the breath a noise agreeable to their ears was produced. Pieces of reed of different lengths were used as flutes, and a drum was formed by stretching a dried antelope skin over any hollow article. To their persons when dancing they attached rattles, made of hollow globes of dried hide containing pebbles, which added to the noise of the rude chant and the stamping of the feet.

They were fond of dancing by moonlight, after abundance of flesh had been obtained by the slaughter of some large animal. There were various kinds of dances, each of which had its appropriate chant, but nearly all consisted of contortions of the body rather than of movements from place to place. Some of them were lascivious to the last degree, for the savages were devoid of all feeling of shame. Others, which perhaps must be considered the highest in order, were imitations of the actions of different animals. These dances caused much excitement, one especially, which was attended with great exertion of the body, frequently causing blood to flow from the noses of some of the performers and ending in the utter exhaustion of others.

The games that they practised were chiefly imitation hunts, in which some or all of them were disguised and represented animals. In this pastime they displayed much cleverness, whether they acted as men, or as baboons, or as lions in pursuit of antelopes. But it was not often that they engaged in play, for the effort to sustain existence was with them severe and almost constant.

At early dawn the Bushman rose from his bed of grass, and scanned the country around in search of game. If any living thing was within range of his far-seeing eye, he grasped his bow and quiver of arrows, and with his dog set off in pursuit. His wife and children followed, carrying

fire and collecting bulbs and anything else that was edible on the way. They could pursue his track unerringly by indications that would escape the keenest European eye: a broken twig, a freshly turned stone, or bent blades of grass being sufficient to guide them in the right direction. At nightfall, if they were fortunate, they collected about the body of an antelope, and there they remained till nothing that could be consumed was left. Or if a small animal was killed early in the day, it might be carried to the cave where they and others had their chief abode, to be generously shared with all the occupants, for in this respect the wild people were unselfish to the last degree. Such in general was their mode of existence, varied occasionally by either a great feast with boisterous revelry or a dire famine and tightened hunger belts. And so from day to day and year to year life passed on, without anything of an intellectual nature to ennoble it.

If the stone, horn, and bone implements, the weapons of the chase, the crude musical instruments, and the shell beads already mentioned be excluded, the Bushmen had little knowledge of manufactures. They had not advanced beyond the stage of making the coarsest kind of pottery, and even this was extremely limited in use. Add to it rush mats and net bags of fibres, in which their women carried ostrich egg-shells filled with water, and the list is exhausted.

They were firm believers in charms and witchcraft, and were always in dread of violating some custom—as for instance avoiding casting a shadow upon dying game—which they believed would cause disaster. A Bushman would not make a hole in the sandy bed of a river in order to obtain water, without first offering a little piece of meat, or some larvæ of ants, or an arrow if he had nothing else, to propitiate the spirit of the stream, that was imagined by him to have the figure of a man hideous in aspect, and capable of making himself visible or invisible at will. And so with every act of his life, something had to be done or

avoided to avert evil, to bring game within reach of his arrows, or to make the wild plants appear.

Their reasoning power was very low. They understood the habits of wild animals better than anything else, yet they believed the different species of game could converse with each other, and that there were animals and human beings who could exchange their forms at will, for instance that there were girls who could change themselves into lions, and baboons that could put on the appearance of men. The moon, according to the ideas of some of them, was a living thing, according to the notions of others it was a piece of hide which a man threw into the sky. In the same way the stars were once human beings, or they were pieces of food hurled into the air. As well might one attempt to get reasons for their fancies from European children six or seven years of age as from Bushmen: the reflective faculties of one were as fully developed as of the other.

Dr. Bleek and Miss Lloyd obtained from several individuals prayers to the moon and to stars. But everything connected with their religion—that is their dread of something outside of and more powerful than themselves—was vague and uncertain. They could give no explanation whatever about it, and they did not all hold the same opinions on the subject. Some of them spoke indeed of a powerful being termed 'Kaang or 'Cagn, but when questioned about him, their replies showed that they held him to be a man like themselves, though possessing charms of great power. Many are supposed to have had a vague belief in immortality, because they buried a dead man's weapons with him and laid the corpse with its face towards the rising sun, and their custom of cutting off a joint of the little finger was imagined to be due to a belief that by doing so they would secure an abundance of food in the future life; but probably very few of them ever gave a thought to such a matter. The wants of the present day were sufficient to occupy all their attention.

It is difficult to conceive of a human being in a more degraded condition than that of a Bushman. In some

respects, however, he showed considerable ability, and there was certainly an enormous gulf between him and the highest of the brute creation. He possessed extraordinary powers of mimicry. Enclosed in a framework covered with the skin and plumage of an ostrich, he was in the habit of stalking game, and, by carefully keeping his prey to windward, was able to approach within shooting distance, when the poison of his arrow completed the task. This, though the commonest disguise assumed by a hunter, was but one of many, which varied according to circumstances. He could imitate the peculiarities of individuals of other races with whom he came in contact, and was fond of creating mirth by exhibiting them in the drollest manner.

He was also an artist. On the walls of caves and the sheltered sides of great rocks he drew rude pictures in profile of the animals with which he was acquainted. The tints were made with different kinds of ocre having considerable capability of withstanding the decay of time, and they were mixed with grease, so that they penetrated the rock more or less deeply according to its porousness. There are caves on the margins of rivers containing paintings which have been exposed to the action of water during occasional floods for at least a hundred years, and the colours are yet unfaded where the rock has not crumbled away.

In point of artistic merit, however, the paintings were seldom superior to the drawings on slates of European children eight or nine years of age, though there were occasional instances of game being delineated not only in a fairly correct but in a graceful manner, showing that some of the workmen possessed more skill than others. In none of them was any knowledge of perspective, and in only one or two of the very best any attempt at shading displayed. Two or more colours were sometimes used, as, for instance, the head or legs of an animal might be white, and the remainder of the body brown, but—with extremely rare exceptions—each colour was evenly laid on as far as it

went. In short, the paintings might be mistaken for the work of children, but for the impressions of the hands often accompanying them, and the scenes being chiefly those of the chase. A peculiarity in them is that the human form is almost invariably grotesquely outlined. Sometimes disguises are represented, usually a man's body with an animal's head, though these are rare.

In some places, where the rock was very smooth and hard, the Bushman drew an outline of a figure, and then chipped away the surface within it. The labour required for such a task, without metallic implements, must have been great, and the workman was undoubtedly possessed of much patience. He was a sculptor in the elementary stage of the art. Mr. Stow believed that the engravers and painters were distinct branches of the race, and in his work he classified them as such. Miss Lloyd, however, is of opinion that the method of delineating the figures depended merely upon the condition of the locality, the artists being the same, and with this view Messrs. Bain, Dunn, and other investigators agree.

These wild people possessed too a faculty — it might almost be termed an additional sense—of which Europeans are destitute. They could make their way in a straight line to any place where they had been before. Even a child of nine or ten years of age, removed from its parents to a distance of several days' journey and without opportunity of carefully observing the features of the country traversed, could months later return unerringly. They could give no explanation of the means by which they accomplished a task seemingly so difficult. Many of the inferior animals, however, have this faculty, as notably the dove, so that it is not surprising to find the lowest type of man in possession of it.

The life led by these savages was in truth a wretched one, judged from a European standard. They had no contact with people beyond their own little communities, except in war, for they carried on no commerce. If a pestilence had

swept them all from the face of the earth, nothing more would have been left to mark where they had once been than the drilled stones, rudely shaped arrowheads, rough pottery, rock paintings, and crude sculptures. Their pleasures were hardly superior to those of dumb animals. But it is not correct to look at them from this standpoint, or to compare them with white people reduced to the same level of poverty. They knew of nothing better, they were all in the same condition and shared alike, so that envy was not felt, their cares were very few, and serious illness was hardly known among them. They probably enjoyed, therefore, more real happiness in life than the destitute class in any European city.

It can now be asserted in positive language that these people were incapable of adopting European civilisation. During the first half of the nineteenth century agents of various missionary societies made strenuous efforts for their improvement, and often believed they had in some cases succeeded and in others were in a fair way towards success. Men more devoted to their work than many of these missionaries have never existed, and it would be unjust to accuse them of wilfully misstating the result of their teaching, but the very excess of their zeal and their dwelling constantly upon the expression that the whole human family is of one blood, without reflecting that different branches of it even in Europe are incapable of thinking alike, led them to distort what they saw and heard, so that their reports are commonly misleading. In these reports Bushmen were represented as having become civilised and Christian. But no one else ever saw those transformed savages, and no trace of them exists at the present day. The wild people in the missionary writings are described as offshoots of a higher stock, degraded by oppression or neglect, and needing only instruction and gentle treatment to elevate them again. Some of the reasoning in favour of this theory is highly acute, but it is not borne out by the deeper investigations of our day.

Apart from missionary teaching also many persons tried during long years to induce families of Bushmen to abandon their savage habits, and there were even experiments in providing groups of them with domestic cattle, in order to encourage a pastoral life, but all were without success. To this day there has not been a single instance of a Bushman of pure blood having permanently adopted the habits of a white man, though a few mixed breeds are to be found among the least skilful class of labourers in some parts of the country. Even these are generally too feeble in body to endure anything like severe toil, and unless they intermingle with blacks—as in the instance of the degraded Batlapin tribe — quickly decrease in number. Those of unmixed blood who were not destroyed as noxious animals by the invaders of their hunting grounds could not exist in presence of a high civilisation, but dwindled away rapidly, and have now nearly died out altogether. It would seem that for them progress was possible in no other way than by exceedingly slow development and blending their blood in successive stages with races always a little more advanced.

Note 1.—Mr. E. J. Dunn, an accomplished geologist, during many years of search in South Africa made a very large collection of stone implements, which he was good enough to allow me to inspect on several occasions. I was unable to detect any difference between the most ancient of these implements and the magnificent exhibits of chipped stones which I saw afterwards in the museums of London and Brussels, but of course I was unable to compare them side by side. Mr. Dunn's collection included when I saw it arrowheads, knives, axes, spearheads, hammers, flakes with systematically serrated edges to be used as saws, scrapers, notched scrapers, borers, grooved stones, mullers, rubbers, arrow straighteners, perforated stones, cores, and chips. He was convinced that they were all of Bushman manufacture, and that some of them had lain undisturbed since the beginning, or nearly the beginning, of the present geological period; but he had found none in the later tertiary deposits. Most of the tiny perforated stones found by him were irregular in shape, but he could not ascertain to what use they had been put, though an old Bushwoman showed him how they were drilled, as well as how to attach a stone head to an arrow. A very interesting paper on *the Stone Implements of South*

Africa, by Mr. Dunn, is to be found in the *Transactions of the South African Philosophical Society during* 1880.

Note 2.—Two short papers entitled *Stone Implements in South Africa*, with a sheet of illustrations, by Sir Langham Dale, Superintendent General of Education in the Cape Colony, were published in the *Cape Monthly Magazine* of October and December 1870.

Note 3.—A short paper entitled *Notes in connection with Stone Implements from Natal*, by John Sanderson, Esqre., of Durban, Natal, is to be found in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* for August 1878.

Note 4.—A lengthy paper on *the Stone Age of South Africa* was read by W. D. Gooch, Esqre., C.E., M.A.I., before the Anthropological Institute on the 11th of January 1881, and is published in Volume XI of the *Journal*. It is illustrated with numerous plates.

Note 5.—As regards the cradle of the Bushman race, the eminent French anthropologist A. de Quatrefages in his work on the *Pygmies* places that locality in Southern Asia, and gives very strong reasons for doing so. From that locality he maintains that the negritos spread eastward through the different peninsulas and archipelagoes to Japan, and westward into Africa by the strait of Bab-el-Mandeb and the gulf of Aden. He deals chiefly with the pygmy people of the east, but devotes fifty pages to the Hottentots and Bushmen. Other anthropologists, however, hardly less eminent than M. de Quatrefages, have assigned different localities as the cradle of this race. My studies have been confined solely to Africa, and I am therefore not sufficiently acquainted with the general subject either to accept or to reject the conclusions that others treating of the whole human species, or of a very large section of it, have come to.

CHAPTER II.

THE HOTTENTOTS, TERMED BY THE BANTU OF THE EASTERN COAST AMALAWU, AND BY THE BANTU OF THE SOUTH-WESTERN COAST OVASERANDU.

THE next section of the human species that claims the attention of a student of South African history is the people known to us as Hottentots. Long considered and termed aborigines by many writers, the not very remote ancestors of these people are now known to have been colonists in the same sense that the Dutch and English are, that is they came from another country and settled in those parts where they were found by the first European visitors, which localities had previously been occupied by earlier inhabitants. That this circumstance long remained unknown is a matter easy of explanation. Neither the Portuguese, nor the Dutch, nor the early English settlers took any trouble to make the necessary investigations, they were wholly occupied with other affairs, they found the Hottentots in the country, and that seemed sufficient for them to know.

Then, long before any real research was commenced, the Hottentots in those parts occupied by Europeans lost their own language and customs, and the blood of most of them became mixed with that of other races. Their traditions were forgotten, and no information of any value was to be obtained from them. At length the eminent philologist Dr. Bleek, by comparing the language of those who lived in secluded localities and retained their ancestral tongue, with the speech of sections of the inhabitants of Northern Africa, pronounced them to have close affinities. The question then arose how could the Hottentots, who differ as much

from the present black inhabitants of Central Africa as they do from Europeans, have found their way to the south? Various answers were suggested, but as every one who attempted to solve this question regarded the black race as having occupied the whole of Central Africa from the most remote times, none were conclusive or satisfactory. The mystery remained unsolved, like that which veils from our knowledge the cause and the manner of the early migrations of our own race.

A satisfactory answer, however, has now been given, at least to part of what is implied in the question. Mr. George W. Stow, who spent many years in research among the Korana clans, the purest Hottentots now existing—if some small sections of the Namaqua be excepted,—and who was aided in his investigations by missionaries and other inquirers, learned from the traditions of those clans that their ancestors had indeed moved down from the north, and that too at no very remote time. This and the account of the route followed he was able to confirm by other evidence, so that now all doubt upon the matter is dispelled.

The Hottentots and the Bushmen were originally of the same stock, but where the remote ancestors of both resided is quite uncertain. No investigation that has yet been made takes us back to this cradle of a race differing greatly from the Caucasian and the negro, assimilating more nearly to the Mongolian than to any other, but differing even from that in having the head clothed with short wiry wool instead of long coarse hair. The Bushmen spread first over Central and then Southern Africa, and in some of those migrations were followed after a great lapse of time by the Hottentots. That interval was so great that the language had become as different as English is from Greek, and had developed largely in grammatical form, though its mode of structure remained in general the same and four of the many clicks used by the Bushmen were retained. It was so great that the Hottentots had advanced from the hunter to the pastoral stage, and perhaps owing to a more constant

and plentiful supply of food, or perhaps—which for various reasons seems highly probable—from an infusion of blood by some other light coloured race,—very likely Hamitic, most certainly not Bantu,—had increased in stature and even acquired a different form of skull. In that long interval also the character and habits of the Hottentots had greatly changed, and they had lost much of the energy and alertness which distinguished the Bushmen, because their mode of existence no longer required the exercise of these qualities. Further, they had gained a knowledge of the art of smelting copper and iron, and thus of making more effective weapons than those of stone. They had lost, on the other hand, the taste for painting and engraving on rocks, if indeed this had been common to their ancestors and those of the Bushmen, and was not acquired by the latter after their departure from the original home.

How, where, and when their advance towards civilisation was made, whether they increased in knowledge slowly of themselves or obtained it from other races, cannot now be ascertained, though most likely the latter was the case. The first glimpse that is had of them through the medium of their traditions takes us back only to a time less than a thousand years ago, when they were living somewhere in the neighbourhood of the great lakes, not far from the equator. That was certainly not their earliest home, and it is not even likely that they had long resided there. They were then in possession of herds of oxen and flocks of large-tailed sheep, but had neither the camel, the horse, the ass, the hog, or in all probability the goat, nor had they a domesticated bird of any kind. At one time or other in their earlier wanderings they must have known of the existence of some or all of these animals, but the ox, the sheep, and the dog were then their only stock.

A wave of war rolled over the land, as had been the case often before, and has been often since. There is never peace for many years together when society is in its rude and barbarous stage, for no right is recognised but the right of

the strong, even as men observe it to be among the lower animals. The weak must flee or be despoiled and exterminated. The Hottentots — or more probably a remnant of them that survived the shock — fled towards the southwest, which would indicate that the invaders of the territory they had occupied came from the opposite direction. In migrations such as this, the line of least resistance is of course followed, but in the present instance that had to be determined by more than the usual considerations. It was not only the absence of enemies more powerful than themselves, and the physical features of the country to be traversed, its mountains and rivers, that the Hottentot fugitives had to take into account. The question was complicated to them by the existence of the tsetse fly in a broad belt of land to the south, which barred their retreat with cattle in that direction. That insect alone, whose sting is fatal to domestic animals, would have prevented them from crossing the Zambesi until they had travelled very far to the westward. In their course, for a considerable distance at least, the land they passed through may have been possessed by Bantu tribes at an earlier date, but if that be so, those tribes must have perished in some terrible devastation like that caused by Tshaka and Moselekatse in the distant south at the beginning of the nineteenth century, for they could not have travelled with their women and children, much less have driven their flocks and herds, through a country held by people stronger than themselves and ever eager for spoil. It is probable also that they did not commence their journey in a solid body, but in several detachments following one another, which would make them more liable to attack and destruction.

Naturally, all details of the long journey have been lost, the only circumstance preserved by tradition being the point from which it commenced. That it must have been very slow, after the danger of immediate pursuit was over, seems certain, however. Cows and sheep cannot be transferred hastily from one kind of pasture to another without heavy

loss, and there could have been no motive for hurrying on when only Bushmen were in the neighbourhood. Probably many years were spent at each favourable halting place, though the design of a continued advance, once initiated, was never entirely lost sight of.

At length the shore of the Atlantic was reached, and then the wave of migration turned to the south. In some parts of this course, after the twentieth parallel of latitude is passed, the pasture is better at a distance inland than on the margin of the sea. The rainfall along the coast, owing to the prevailing winds being offshore, is trifling compared with that of the thunderstorms in the interior, and the sandy soil does not long retain moisture. It is an arid, sterile belt of land, destitute of running streams and fountains, where in places the sand hills blown about by the wind are constantly changing their form. It is traversed with difficulty even by those who are acquainted with the localities where scanty pasture and a little water are to be found. Here therefore the migrating horde, which must have been broken up into many small parties moving on slowly at long intervals, turned inland for a short distance and then kept on towards the south, but as soon as possible it moved westward again and pursued its course along the terrace bordering on the ocean. Did the wanderers expect that the shore would somewhere turn and lead them to a fairer land, where they could rest at last? No one can tell. Perhaps they themselves did not know of an object in view, but were merely impelled onward by a ruling desire for change. They were not now driven forward by enemies stronger than themselves, but still they advanced. Leaving a section behind in the territory now termed Great Namaqualand, they crossed the Orange river and entered the present Cape Colony.

Along their line of march they must have had constant conflicts with the Bushmen, the only earlier inhabitants of the land, who could not look on unmoved while the country was thus invaded. These puny savages were capable of

causing much mischief, though they could not prevent the strangers from either advancing or taking possession of the choicest pastures along the shore. The Hottentots did not regard them as human beings having rights, but simply as noxious animals to be got rid of as quickly as possible. In one respect, however, this was not the case. Young girls of Bushman blood, when captured, were detained and incorporated as inferior members of the families of those who slew their kindred without the slightest feeling of remorse. In this manner, probably from the very first contact of the two peoples, a mixture of blood took place, which, though slight in the beginning, was considerable by the time the intruding horde reached the Cape promontory. On the other hand, there was no intercourse between Bushmen and Hottentot women, either before or after this period. Their arrival at the southern shore of Africa must have preceded that of the first Portuguese explorers by only a very few centuries, probably not more than two or three at most.

At different stages between the mouth of the Orange river and Table Bay sections of the horde were left behind, each of which took a tribal name, and thereafter carried on war with its nearest neighbours on its own account. As the majority of the Bushmen who had previously lived at these localities were either exterminated or forced to retreat farther inland, the incorporation of girls necessarily almost ceased, so that each tribe of Hottentots from north to south was of purer blood than the next in advance.

When the southern point of the continent was reached, the migratory movement did not end, but, turning eastward, a portion of the horde continued its march, still keeping close to the shore of the sea. At no point except the one mentioned on the long journey, which may have occupied several centuries, was any attempt made to penetrate the interior country. Yet these people did not possess the skill to make even a rough canoe, and only when they were without cattle resorted to catching fish for food. It was therefore not from any attachment to the ocean or from any

benefit derived directly from it that they continued their course along its margin, but from the pastures, owing to the greater rainfall, being more luxuriant in its neighbourhood than farther inland.

The character of the country had now entirely changed. The south-east wind sweeping over the Indian ocean reached the land laden with moisture, which was deposited in abundance on the lowest terrace, in decreasing quantities on each succeeding plateau, and least of all on the vast plain in the interior. The farther to the north-east one proceeds the more is this perceptible, until the rich vegetation of the shore forms a striking contrast to the desert belt in the same latitudes on the Atlantic side.

As band after band was thrown off along the southern and south-eastern coast, and Bush girls were continually incorporated, the most advanced party at length probably contained more Bushman than pure Hottentot blood. It was so gradually absorbed, however, that it was assimilated, for these little tribes preserved the Hottentot customs and mode of living, and carried on hostilities with the Bushmen just as if they were wholly unconnected with those savages. Along this coast the Hottentots were never so numerous as along the shore of the Atlantic south of the Orange river. There were wide gaps between the various tribes or distinct bands, which were occupied solely by the aboriginal hunters. At the beginning of the sixteenth century of our era the Hottentots extended thus in a thin line, or rather a series of dots at varying distances from each other, from Walfish Bay on the western coast round to the mouth of the Umtamvuna river on the south-eastern, beyond which there is no indication that they ever advanced.

The cause of their being so thinly scattered along this line was their depending almost entirely upon milk for subsistence. They needed a large number of cows and ewes, and consequently a great extent of pasture for each separate community, as the cattle belonging to all the families composing it were herded together for reasons of safety, and

were driven from place to place according to the state of the grass. As soon as a community became so large that this was impossible or even inconvenient, a swarm was of necessity thrown off, and moved to a distance in order to acquire a new pasture of sufficient extent for its use. The offshoot might for a time consider itself a dependency of the parent band, or a clan of the tribe, but the tendency would soon be towards perfect independence. There was no other way of extension, for a party moving needed to be strong enough to protect itself and its cattle from Bushmen and ravenous animals. For a single family, or even two or three families together, to attempt to settle separately on the pasture of a tribe and to keep up connection with the main body was not possible. Each Hottentot community was thus compact, but limited in number to a few hundred or at most to a couple of thousand souls. It occupied a single village, or kraal as now generally termed.

From the neighbourhood of the kraal the Bushmen were cleared off as far as possible, but in many instances they still occupied the mountains and seized every opportunity to plunder cattle from the intruders and to put any stray individual of either sex to death. The feeling between the two peoples was in general one of intense animosity, though there were occasional instances of a kind of compact between a Hottentot tribe and the Bushmen in its neighbourhood, under which the former provided food in times of great distress, and the latter acted as scouts and gave warning of any approaching danger. This was only the case, however, when the Bushmen were so reduced in number as to be incapable of carrying on war.

The great interior of the country was undisturbed by the intruders, but it did not always offer an asylum to the dispossessed people. Each little band of Bushmen had there its own recognised hunting grounds, and resented intrusion upon them as much by individuals of kindred blood as by strangers. Then they were strongly attached to the localities in which they had lived from childhood, and in many

instances preferred to die rather than abandon them. Still there were some who, under exceptional circumstances, made their way to localities far distant from the tracts they had lost, and established themselves anew on a wild mountain or an arid plain, perhaps dispossessing previous occupants as they had themselves been dispossessed of their former abode.

Such was the manner of the occupation of the South African coast by the Hottentots, and such were the effects of the invasion upon the earlier inhabitants.

The Hottentots termed themselves Khoikhoi, men of men, as they prided themselves upon their superiority over the savage hunters, and in fact they were considerably more advanced towards civilisation than the Bushmen, though a stranger at first sight might not have seen much difference in personal appearance between the two. A little observation, however, would have shown that the Bushmen were not only smaller and uglier, but that their faces were broader, their eyes not nearly as full and bright, their lobeless ears rounder in shape, and their chins less prominent. Their wild expression also was not observed in the Hottentot face.

The investigations of the late Dr. Bleek have shown that the languages of these two classes of people were not only different in the words, but that in some particulars they varied in construction. That spoken by the Hottentots—except in cases where there was a mixture of Bushman blood—was free of deep guttural sounds, and though it was accompanied by much clapping of the tongue, the clicks, which were four in number, were not so extensively used as in Bushman speech. It was inflected in a regular manner to indicate number, gender, and case, by means of affixes only, which placed it in contrast with the language of the Bantu, as this was without gender and was inflected chiefly by prefixes. It had three numbers, singular, dual, and plural. Its system of notation was decimal, and was perfect, at least up to a hundred, though it does not follow that every individual could count. In many instances the same

monosyllabic word had different significations, according to the tone in which it was pronounced, when the context did not indicate its meaning. Some words were composites, but most were monosyllables, as were all the roots, which ended with a vowel. The liquid consonant *l* was wanting. There were almost as many dialects as there were tribes, but these did not vary more than the forms of English spoken in different counties before the general diffusion of education from books. This is a proof that the occupation of the country by these people and their spreading out along the coast must have been very recent. Unwritten languages change rapidly, especially in the vowel sounds, and tribes having no communication with each other, as for instance the Namaqua and the Gonaqua, in the course of only eight or ten generations would have developed differences far greater than were found to exist.

No difficulty has been experienced by European missionaries in reducing this language to writing, and some religious literature has been printed in it. Words to express ideas unknown before were formed from well-known roots according to its grammatical structure, and were at once understood by every one, just as meekness and meekly would be understood by any Englishman who had only heard the word meek used before. This is sufficient to show that the language was of a high order. It is now, however, rapidly dying out, as the descendants of the people who once used it have long since learned to converse in Dutch, and by force of circumstances nearly all have forgotten their ancestral speech. A large admixture of blood—European, Asiatic, and particularly negro—that took place during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, contributed to this result, as well as the state of servitude to which many of these people were reduced.

The manner in which the various Hottentot tribes were formed has already been explained. They usually took their distinctive titles from the name of their founder, by adding to it the affix qua, which signified those of or the people of,

thus the Cochoqua were the people of Cocho, the Gonaqua the people of Gona. Sometimes, however, they called themselves after some animal, as the springbucks, the scorpions, or from some accidental circumstance, as the honey eaters, the sandal wearers. Many of the tribes consisted of several clans, more or less loosely joined together, though all tending to become independent in course of time. The tribes were almost constantly at war with each other, the object being to obtain possession of the cattle and girls of the opponent, and often the weaker ones were reduced to great poverty and distress. New combinations would then be formed, and the victors of one year frequently became the vanquished of the next. These internecine quarrels were not attended with much loss of life. There was never a slaughter of the whole of the conquered people, as was the case when a band of Bushmen was surrounded and overpowered.

Every tribe had its own hereditary chief, whose authority, however, was very limited, as his subjects were impatient of control. The succession was from father to son, and in the absence of a son to brother or nephew. The several heads of clans not long formed recognised the supremacy in rank of the head of the community from which they had branched off, who was accounted the paramount chief of the tribe, but unless he happened to be a man of more force of character than the others, he exercised no real power over them. The petty rulers, or heads of clans, were commonly jealous of each other, and only united their strength in cases of extreme danger to all. The government was thus particularly frail, and a very slight shock was sufficient to break any combination of the people into fragments. The powerful religious sentiment which binds the people of a Bantu tribe so strongly to their ruler was altogether wanting in a Hottentot community. The chief was not regarded as a divinity or the descendant of a divinity, but as a mere man like any of his followers. Riches commanded more respect than rank, and a man possessed of many cattle exercised as

much influence as the nominal ruler, for the right of individuals to hold property apart from the community was recognised.

There were customs which had the same force as laws in civilised societies, and any one breaking them was subject to punishment. In such cases the whole of the adult males of the kraal discussed the matter and decided what was to be done, the chief, unless he happened to be a man of unusual strength of character, having little more to say than any one else. The moral code and the proportion of criminality ascribed to misdeeds were naturally very different from those of European nations.

The principal property of the Hottentots consisted of horned cattle and sheep, of which large numbers were possessed by some of the wealthiest tribes. They had great skill in training oxen to obey certain calls, as well as to carry burdens, and bulls were taught not only to assist in guarding the herds from robbers and beasts of prey, but to aid in war by charging the enemy on the field of battle. The milk of their cows was the chief article of their diet. It was preserved either in skin bags or in vessels made by hollowing a block of wood, and after coagulation formed healthy and nutritious food. The vessels used were commonly in a filthy state, as indeed was everything else in and about the huts, for in this respect the Hottentots were only slightly superior to Bushmen. They did not kill horned cattle for food, except on occasions of feasting, but they ate all that died a natural death.

Their usual method of cooking meat was to cut it in long strips, which were thrown upon embers and heated through, then one end was taken into the mouth, and it was gradually drawn in and devoured. The intestines of animals, after hardly any cleansing, were consumed in the same manner. Sometimes, however, flesh was boiled in clay pots, though it was not much relished in this way.

The ox of the Hottentot was an inferior animal to that of Europe. He was a gaunt, bony creature, with immense horns and long legs, but he was hardy and well adapted to

supply the wants of his owner. He served instead of a horse for carrying burdens and for riding purposes, being guided by a riem or thong of raw hide attached to a piece of wood passed through the cartilage of his nose.

The sheep possessed by the Hottentots were covered with hair instead of wool, were of various colours, and had long lapping ears and tails three or four kilogrammes in weight. The tails were composed almost entirely of fat, which could be melted as easily as tallow, and which was relished as a dainty. Animals possessing such appendages were of course hardier than European sheep, and could exist much longer on scanty herbage in seasons of drought. The milk as well as the flesh was used for food. Children were taught to suck the ewes, and often derived their whole sustenance from this source.

The only other domestic animal was the dog. He was an ugly creature, his body being shaped like that of a jackal, and the hair on his spine being turned forward; but he was a faithful, serviceable animal of his kind.

In addition to milk and the meat of oxen and sheep, of which they rejected no part except the gall, the food of the Hottentots consisted of the flesh of game obtained in the chase, locusts, and various kinds of wild plants and fruits. Agriculture, even in its simplest forms, was not practised by them. Like the Bushmen, they knew how to make an intoxicating drink of honey, of which large quantities were to be had in the season of flowers, and this they used to excess while it lasted. Like those savages also, they were acquainted with that powerful intoxicant, dacha or wild hemp, and whenever it was procurable they smoked it with a pipe made of the horn of an antelope. That its effects were pernicious was admitted by themselves, still they could not refrain from making use of it.

Their women were better clothed than those of the Bushmen, but the men were usually satisfied with very little covering, and had no sense of shame in appearing altogether naked. The dress of both sexes was made of skins,

commonly prepared with the hair on. When removed from the animal, the skin was cleansed of any fleshy matter adhering to it, was then stretched and dried, and was afterwards rubbed with grease and worked between the hands till it became soft and pliable. The ordinary costume of a man was merely a piece of jackal skin suspended in front, and a little slip of prepared hide behind. In cold weather he wrapped himself in a kaross or mantle of furs sewed together with sinews. The women wore at all times a headdress of fur, an under apron, and a wrapper or a girdle of leather strings suspended from the waist. In cold weather, or when carrying infants on their backs, they added a scanty kaross. Children wore no clothing whatever. Round their legs the females sewed strips of raw hide like rings, which, when dry, rattled against each other, and made a noise when they moved.

Both sexes ornamented their heads with copper trinkets, and hung round their necks strings of shells, leopards' teeth, or any other glittering objects they could obtain. Ivory armlets were worn by the men. From earliest infancy their bodies were smeared with grease and rubbed over with clay, soot, or powdered buchu, and to this partly may be attributed the stench of their persons. The coat of grease and clay was not intended for ornament alone. It protected them from the weather and from the vermin that infested their huts and clothing.

Their dwellings were constructed by planting long pieces of supple undressed wood in the ground, and bending the upper ends inward, where they were attached by thongs to short pieces laid horizontally, so that the whole frame resembled approximately a rough hemisphere. Withes were then twisted round the structure and tied on outside, and the whole was covered with rush mats. The huts were so low that a tall man could not stand upright inside, and they had but one small opening through which the inmates crawled. In cold weather a fire was made in a cavity in the centre. The huts of a kraal were arranged in the form

of a circle, the space enclosed being used as a fold for cattle. They could be taken to pieces, placed on pack-oxen, removed to a distance, and set up again, with very little labour and no waste. The furniture within them consisted merely of mats to sleep on, skins, weapons, cooking utensils, wooden milk dishes, and ostrich egg-shells used for carrying and containing water. Unlike the Bushman, who coiled himself to sleep on a little grass, the Hottentot stretched himself at full length on a mat in his hut.

The weapons used by the Hottentots in war and the chase were bows and arrows, sticks with clubbed heads, and assagais. Mr. Stow asserts that at the time of their arrival in South Africa they were unacquainted with the use of poison, but if that be correct, they certainly acquired a knowledge of it shortly afterwards. It was not used by them so extensively, however, as by the Bushmen. The bow was larger and the arrow longer than those of the primitive inhabitants, still without poison the weapon would have been useless against large game. The assagai of the Hottentots was a light javelin, which could be hurled with precision to a distance of thirty or forty metres. The knobkerie, or clubbed stick, was almost as formidable a weapon. It was rather stouter than an ordinary walking cane, and had a round head six or eight centimetres in diameter. Boys were trained to throw this with so accurate an aim as to hit a bird on the wing at twenty or thirty metres distance. It was projected in such a manner as to bring the heavy knob into contact with the object aimed at, and antelopes as large as goats had their legs broken or were killed outright with it.

The Hottentots were acquainted with the art of smelting iron, but were too indolent to turn their knowledge to much account. Only a few assagai and arrow heads were made of that metal. Horn and bone were ready at hand, were easily worked, and were commonly used to point weapons. Stone was also employed by some of the tribes for this

purpose, but not to any great extent, though weights for digging-sticks were formed of it by them as by the Bushmen. Masses of almost solid copper were obtained in Namaqualand, and this metal was spread over the neighbouring country by means of barter and war, but was not used for any other purpose than that of making ornaments for the person.

At different places occupied by the Hottentots along the coast a very few polished stone implements have been found. They consist of arrow heads whose points have been ground, and disks like quoits with sharp edges, which are supposed to have been held in the hand and used in combat. No European has ever seen a Hottentot in possession of such implements, or ever heard them spoken of, and any remarks concerning them can only be founded on conjecture. But few as is the number of such ground stones as yet discovered, they are evidence that individuals, if not tribes, were in the neolithic stage of progress, though iron was in use at the same period.

The Hottentots manufactured earthenware pots for cooking purposes, which, though in general clumsily shaped and coarse in appearance, were capable of withstanding intense heat. This art was lost soon after Europeans came in contact with them, and before observations upon their habits were made correctly and placed on record, so that it is only from specimens of their handiwork recently found that an opinion can be formed of the quality of such wares. Pots were useful at times, but were not much needed by people who seldom ate boiled food, nor were earthenware drinking vessels required where ox horns served that purpose. This may account for the small quantity and the coarse description of the utensils manufactured. Some of the pots found in recent shell heaps along the sea-shore have a number of holes neatly drilled in them, often near the bottom, probably in order to make them serve as strainers.

Some small and weak clans of Hottentots who had lost their cattle in war or by disease depended for existence

chiefly upon the produce of the sea. They had neither boats nor hooks, but they managed to catch fish by throwing light assagais from rocks standing out in deep water, and by making weirs in favourable situations along the shore enclosing considerable spaces which were left nearly dry at low tide. Shell-fish also formed a portion of their food, and occasionally a dead whale would drift ashore and furnish them with a feast. Shell and ash heaps made by these people bearing signs of being quite modern, that is dating back only two or three hundred years, are found in many places along the coast from Walfish Bay to Natal.

The heaps contain ordinary Hottentot implements, in rare instances human skeletons, and generally bones of animals obtained in the chase, always broken in order that the marrow might be extracted. The perforated stone weights for digging-sticks found in them are usually of the shape of compressed spheres, nearly resembling in form those of Scotland referred to on a previous page, which has given rise to the supposition that those made by Hottentots were always of a distinct type from those made by Bushmen. This is, however, not certain, though only spherical weights are picked up in South Africa in tracts of country that were exclusively occupied by Bushmen, and compressed spheres wherever Hottentots lived, where also a few stones have been found that have first been perforated and then chipped into a convenient shape for use.

Hottentots were found living in the manner here indicated when Europeans first came to the country, and on the coast of Namaqualand there were some existing in a similar state after the middle of the nineteenth century. As far as food, clothing, and lodging were concerned, they were in no better condition than Bushmen, though there was always the hope before them of acquiring cattle by a successful raid, in which case they would at once revert to the ordinary mode of living of their kindred. The whole of the recent shells heaps on the South African coast, however, were not made by impoverished Hottentots. Some were

made by Bushmen, as is proved by the paintings on rocks overhanging the deposits, and these may be taken as forming a connected series with the most ancient mounds.

The Hottentots, as observed before, did not form a continuous line of settlement, but a series of dots, in some instances far apart, and between these Bushmen still lived. This will account for shell mounds being formed by both people at the same time. Very likely many of the impoverished members of the pastoral tribes were those who had Bushman mothers, and who would not be regarded as legitimate children or inherit cattle from their fathers. They would therefore be able to accommodate themselves more easily than others to the mode of living that has just been described. Some, however, were certainly not of this class, as entire and distinct clans, though small and weak, were forced by abject poverty to seek for sustenance on the sea shore, being unable to exist in any other manner. As hunters they were far surpassed by the Bushmen, and on wild plants alone life could not long be maintained.

The Hottentots were a superstitious people, who placed great faith in the efficacy of charms to ward off evil. They even besought favours from certain pieces of root so used, and if their wishes were successful, they praised and thanked the charms. This superstition might in time have developed into idolatry, but it was arrested before it reached that stage. They believed that certain occurrences foreboded good or ill luck, that a mantis alighting on a hut brought prosperity with it, and many other absurdities of a like nature. They lived in dread of ghosts and evil spirits, but with no more conception of the nature of such shadowy beings, or of the mode of receiving harm, than little children have. They invoked blessings from the moon, the harbinger of their festivities, to whose praise they sang and danced when it appeared as new. In later times those who had come in contact with Bantu prayed for blessings from dead ancestors, to whose shades sacrifices were offered by priests on important occasions, but this was evidently a custom of

foreign origin. Generally they implored protection and favour from a mythical hero named Tsui-ǀgoab or Heitsi-eibib, who was believed by them to have lived on the earth and to have died and risen again many times, and whose worship consisted in throwing a bit of wood or an additional stone upon a cairn at a place where he was supposed to have been once buried. Tales of the wonderful deeds of this Heitsi-eibib were commonly narrated by old men, and were implicitly believed by every one who heard them. All the actions ascribed to him were those of a man, but of one endowed with supernatural power.

Dr. Theophilus Hahn, the son of a missionary, who spent his youth among the Namaqua and learned to speak their language as soon as he did that of his parents, in his *Tsuni-ǁGoam, the Supreme Being of the Khoikhoi*, published in London in 1881, states that the Namaqua believe Tsui-goab, or Heitsi-eibib as otherwise called, to be a powerful and beneficent being, who lives in the red sky. There is also a powerful evil being, named ǁGaunab, who lives in the black sky and does harm to men, who on that account fear and worship him. In a series of combats with ǁGaunab, Tsui-ǁgoab was repeatedly overcome, but after every struggle grew stronger, until at last he killed ǁGaunab by a blow behind the ear. He was, however, wounded in the knee, and has been lame ever since, whence his name, the wounded knee. At early dawn the Namaqua look towards the east, and implore blessings from him.

Dr. Hahn asserts his belief that this myth originated in the apparent conflict between light and darkness at dawn, and he gives the reasons that led him to this conclusion, which are mainly philological. If this be correct, the myth had an origin as lofty in ideal as that of many of the Aryans; but other inquirers are inclined to attribute it to the existence of some prominent man in olden time, whose exploits became magnified and distorted in legends. As they believe the moon dies and comes to life again, they may very easily have imagined this great man of their race to

have done the same, or the deeds of different individuals at different times may have become blended under one name, as in some Bantu traditions. Tsui-‖goab was also believed to have been the ancestor of the whole Hottentot race, and likewise to be the moon, for these people, with childlike simplicity, could not comprehend that such various suppositions were incapable of being reconciled with each other. In the corrupted form of Utixo, the first missionaries to the Bantu used the word Tsui-‖goab to signify God, and it is so employed to the present day.

Many cairns of considerable size, formed of small stones capable of being carried by one individual, have been found in various parts of South Africa, but only a few of these were raised by Hottentots at places where they supposed Heitsi-eibib to have been buried. The Bushmen erected cairns over some of their dead, and it is not unlikely that the Hottentots merely enlarged such of these as they found where they settled. The Bantu—in addition to the heaps of stones to be mentioned in another chapter—also erected cairns over the bodies of their chiefs, but these are more massive and are well known, so that they cannot be confused with the graves of Heitsi-eibib. The adding a stone to such a heap, at first regarded merely as a mark of respect to the dead who lay there, might easily in course of time come to be considered as an act of worship.

The system of religion of the Hottentots could not be explained by themselves, what they understood being little more than that the customs connected with it had come down to them from their ancestors. They had not the faintest expectation of their own resurrection, or conception of a heaven and a hell.

A more improvident, unstable, thoughtless people never existed. Those among them who had cattle were without care or grief, and usually spent the greater part of the day in sleeping. They delighted, however, in dancing by moonlight to music, which they produced from reeds similar to those used by the Bushmen, but superior in tone and effect.

Active in this exercise and in hunting, in all other respects they were extremely indolent. The labour of collecting wild plants and of building and removing huts was performed by the women. Their filthiness of person, clothing, and habitation was disgusting. They enjoyed eating food that would have turned the stomach of the least delicate of Europeans, for the sense of smelling with them—as with all people of a low type—was extremely dull. Still they were not without good qualities. Their tempers were in general mild, and their hospitality to peaceable strangers as well as to individuals of their own clan was unbounded. Even in the direst extremity of famine, cannibalism was never resorted to by people of their race.

They were in the habit of abandoning aged and helpless persons as well as sickly and deformed children, whom they allowed to perish of hunger. But they regarded this as mercy, not as cruelty. Better that a helpless wretch or a cripple should give up life at once than linger on in misery. For the same reason, when a woman giving suck died, the child was buried with its dead parent.

The Hottentots were polygamous in the sense that their customs admitted of a wealthy man having more wives than one, but the practice was by no means general. There were many kraals in which there was not a single case of polygamy. It was customary with some, perhaps with all, to take their wives not from their own but from another clan. The marriage customs required that cattle should be given by the bridegroom to the nearest relatives of the bride, but temporary unions were common, and indeed a system almost as bad as that of free love prevailed, for chastity on both sides was very lightly regarded. One of the principal objects in their wars with each other was to take females as prisoners, who were generally regarded as mere concubines, but were sometimes raised to the dignity of wives. The difference from a European point of view may seem obscure, but it involved a right over the distribution of the milk, and upon it depended the inheritance

of the children. Female captives of Bushman blood occupied the lower position. There was no religious or moral scruple in operation against conduct of this kind, for they had no idea that it was in any way wrong. It was simply the natural right of the strong to take from the weak.

The women — excepting of course such captives as have been described — were more nearly the equals of the men, and were permitted to exercise much greater freedom of speech in domestic disputes, than among most barbarians. They were mistresses within the huts. The stores of milk were under their control, not under that of their husbands, as was the case with the Bantu. The men or their sons tended the cattle, but their daughters milked the cows.

Among some—not all—of the Hottentot clans there was a custom which, though described by many early observers, has within the nineteenth century without sufficient investigation been regarded by most writers as so utterly incredible that they have not noticed it. Yet it is practised at the present day by people who are certainly not of Hottentot blood, but who must have derived their language as well as many of their customs from Hottentot conquerors in bygone times. It stands to them in the same relation that circumcision does to many Bantu clans, that is among them a youth cannot enter the society of men or take to himself a wife until he has become a *monorch* (μόνορχις). A custom so extraordinary shows what force habit and superstition have among barbarians.

With all their degrading habits, the Hottentots possessed large powers of imagination. They speculated upon objects in nature in a way that no Bantu ever did, and their ideas on these subjects, though seemingly absurd, at least bore evidence of a disposition to think. They had names for many stars and groups of stars, which they believed to be endowed with life. They were excellent story-tellers. Seated round fires of an evening, they repeated tales of the doings of men and of animals—usually the baboon or the jackal — which produced boundless mirth. These stories

often contained coarse and obscene expressions, or what Europeans would regard as such, but their sense of delicacy in these matters was naturally low. A specimen, one which with slight variants is told by Hottentots all over South Africa, is here given, to illustrate what may be termed the literature of the race. It was taken down and translated by the late Mr. Thomas Bain, and was first published in the *Folklore Journal* of July 1879.

"There was a great drought in the land, and the lion called together a number of animals, that they might devise a plan for retaining water when the rains fell. The animals which attended to the lion's summons were the baboon, the leopard, the hyena, the jackal, the hare, and the mountain tortoise. It was agreed that they should scratch a large hole in some suitable place to hold water; and the next day they all began to work, with the exception of the jackal, who continually hovered about in that locality, and was overheard to mutter that *he* was not going to scratch his nails off in making water-holes.

"When the dam was finished, the rains fell, and it was soon filled with water, to the great delight of those who had worked so hard at it. The first one, however, to come and drink there was the jackal, who not only drank, but filled his clay pot with water, and then proceeded to swim in the rest of the water, making it as muddy and dirty as he could. This was brought to the knowledge of the lion, who was very angry, and ordered the baboon to guard the water the next day, armed with a huge knobkerie. The baboon was concealed in a bush close to the water; but the jackal soon became aware of his presence there, and guessed its cause. Knowing the fondness of baboons for honey, the jackal at once hit upon a plan, and marching to and fro, every now and then dipped his fingers into his clay pot, and licked them with an expression of intense relish, saying in a low voice to himself, 'I don't want any of their dirty water when I have a pot full of delicious honey.' This was too much for the poor baboon, whose mouth began to water. He soon began to beg the jackal to give him a little honey, as he had been watching a long time and was very hungry and tired.

"After taking no notice of the baboon at first, the jackal looked round, and said in a patronising manner that he pitied such an unfortunate creature, and would give him some honey on certain conditions, viz. that the baboon should give up his knobkerie and allow himself to be bound. He foolishly agreed, and was soon tied in such a manner that he could not move hand or foot. The jackal now proceeded to drink of the water, to fill his pot, and to swim, in the sight of the baboon, from time to time telling him what a foolish fellow he had been to be so easily duped, and that he (the jackal) had no honey or anything else to give him, excepting a good blow on the head every now and then with his own knobkerie. The animals soon appeared, and found the poor baboon in this sorry plight, looking very miserable. The lion was so exasperated that he caused the baboon to be severely punished and to be denounced as a fool.

"The tortoise hereupon stepped forward and offered his services for the capture of the jackal. It was at first thought that he was merely joking, but

when he explained in what manner he proposed to catch him, his plan was considered so feasible that his offer was accepted. He proposed that a thick coating of the sticky black substance found on beehives should be spread all over him, and that he should then go and stand at the entrance of the dam, on the water level, so that the jackal might tread upon him and stick fast. This was accordingly done, and the tortoise posted there.

"The next day, when the jackal came, he approached the water very cautiously, and wondered to find no one there. He then ventured to the entrance of the water, and remarked how kind they had been in placing there a large black stepping-stone for him. As soon, however, as he trod upon the supposed stone he stuck fast, and saw that he had been tricked, for the tortoise now put his head out and began to move. The jackal's hind feet being still free, he threatened to smash the tortoise with them if he did not let him go. The tortoise merely answered, 'Do as you like.' The jackal thereupon made a violent jump, and found with horror that his hind feet were now also fast. 'Tortoise,' said he, 'I have still my mouth and teeth left, and will eat you alive if you do not let me go.' 'Do as you like,' the tortoise again replied. The jackal, in his endeavours to free himself, at last made a desperate bite at the tortoise, and found himself fixed both head and feet. The tortoise, feeling proud of his successful capture, now marched quietly up to the top of the bank with the jackal on his back, so that he could easily be seen by the animals as they came to the water. They were indeed astonished to find how cleverly the crafty jackal had been caught, and the tortoise was much praised, while the unhappy baboon was again reminded of his misconduct when set to guard the water.

"The jackal was at once condemned to death by the lion, and the hyena was to execute the sentence. The jackal pleaded hard for mercy, but finding this useless he made a last request to the lion (always, as he said, so fair and just in his dealings) that he should not have to suffer a lingering death. The lion inquired of him in what manner he wished to die; and he asked that his tail might be shaved and rubbed with a little fat, and that the hyena might then swing him round twice and dash his brains out upon a stone. This being considered sufficiently fair by the lion, was ordered by him to be carried out in his presence. When the jackal's tail had been shaved and greased, the hyena caught hold of him with great force, and before he had fairly lifted him from the ground, the cunning jackal had slipped away from his grasp and was running for his life, pursued by all the animals. The lion was the foremost pursuer, and after a great chase the jackal got under an overhanging precipice, and standing on his hind legs with his shoulders pressed against the rock, called loudly to the lion to help him, as the rock was falling and would crush them both. The lion put his shoulders to the rock, and exerted himself to the utmost. After some little time the jackal proposed that he should creep slowly out, and fetch a large pole to prop up the rock, so that the lion could get out and save his life. The jackal did creep out, and left the lion there to starve and die."

The evening with the Hottentots, as probably with all barbarians, was the time for enjoyment. What could be more cheerful than the dance in the bright moonlight or listen-

ing to a merry tale by a fire under a starry sky? Then the young men tried their strength in wrestling matches, or in lifting one another from the ground, while the young women looked on and applauded the successful competitors. Then, too, they played games which, though apparently suited to the capacities of little children only, afforded them much amusement. The commonest of those games, very similar to one practised by the Bushmen, was adopted by the Bantu on the eastern border when they conquered the Hottentots there, and is performed by adults among them to-day, though the people with whom it originated have long since forgotten it.

It was played by two persons or any number exceeding two. The players sat on the ground, and each had a pebble so small that it could easily be concealed in a folded hand. If there were many players they formed themselves into sides or parties, but when they were few in number one played against the rest. This one concealed the pebble in either of his hands, and then threw both arms out against his opponent, at the same time calling that he met or that he evaded. His opponent threw his arms out in the same manner, so that his right hand was opposite the first player's left, and his left opposite the first player's right. The clenched hands were then opened, and if the pebbles were found to meet, the first player won if he had called out that he met, or lost if he had called out that he evaded. When there were many players, one after another was beaten until only two were left. These two then played against each other, when the one who was beaten was laughed at and the winner was applauded. In playing, the arms were thrown out very quickly, and the words were rapidly uttered, so that a stranger might have fancied there was neither order nor rule observed. Young men and boys often spent whole nights in this childish amusement, which had the same hold upon them as dice upon some Europeans.

Probably, if intellectual enjoyment be excluded, the Hottentots were among the happiest people in existence.

They generally lived until old age without serious illness. They did not allow possible future troubles to disturb them, and a sufficiency of food was all that was needed to make them as merry and light-hearted as children at play.

They were capable of adopting the habits of Europeans, though the process required to be so gradual that the training of two centuries and a half has been insufficient to complete it. They have learned to cultivate the ground, to use the same food as white people, to wear European clothing, and to act as rough handicraftsmen, but there is no instance on record of one of them having ever attained a position that required either much intellectual power or much mechanical skill. Since they came in contact with Europeans and African slaves, however, their blood has been so mixed that, except in Great Namaqualand and along the banks of the Vaal and Orange rivers near their junction, very few pure Hottentots are in existence now, and every successive generation sees the number become smaller.

Note.—The Gei‖khauas (the Cauquas of the early Dutch records) claim to be the oldest of the Hottentot tribes, and to be in a sense paramount over all the others. Dr. Theophilus Hahn asserts that this claim is well founded, and that it was recognised as correct by a clan of the Koranas not many years ago. The Gei |khauas were living only two days' journey from Capetown at the close of the seventeenth century, but about 1811 as many of them as were left removed to Great Namaqualand to preserve their independence. They are the people who lived at Gobabis under the chief Amraal until his death in 1865, and later under the chief Andries Lambert.

CHAPTER III.

THE DARK-SKINNED PEOPLE TERMED BY EUROPEANS BANTU.

AT a period that may or may not be later than the advent of the Hottentots, offshoots of the dark-skinned race now known to Europeans as the Bantu began to make their way into Africa south of the Zambesi. It is quite impossible to affix a date to any of the early migrations, and it is by no means certain that the most degraded of the dark-skinned people now occupying the Kalahari desert and parts of the territory some distance to the eastward did not come down from the north before the Hottentots reached Table Bay. The large tribes of our time, however, to a certainty migrated to South Africa at a more recent date, when the Hottentots were in possession of at least the south-western and the greater part of the southern coast.

After the first pioneers found their way across the Zambesi and Kunene rivers, bands were constantly coming down until the middle of the eighteenth century of our era, but even now, though they have multiplied at an amazing rate since they have been under the protection of Europeans, the whole number in Africa south of those rivers does not exceed six or seven millions, who represent all the offshoots from the great mass of the race in the central zone of the continent.

The original home or birthplace of this section of the human family is unknown: some inquirers believe it to have been in the continent which its widespread branches now so largely occupy, others that it was in some distant eastern land. The first assert that the Bantu probably had

their origin in a mixture of Hamitic and negro blood at no very remote time,—possibly not three thousand years ago,—the last point out, with Dr. Bleek, that their language has close affinity with the Malayan, Papuan, and Polynesian tongues, though in physical characteristics they vary considerably from those people. It has been observed also that many of their implements—the peculiar double bellows, for instance,—are identical with those used by the eastern families referred to, though this may have been accidental. If this theory be correct, the origin of the Bantu must be carried much further back than three thousand years. The question has not yet advanced beyond speculation, for no research connected with the present inhabitants of South Africa has brought us with absolute certainty nearer to the cradle of the various families, or given any clue to the origin of man himself.

The legends of all the tribes of importance now living south of the Zambesi river, none of which can be more than a few centuries old, point to a distant northern occupation, and in some instances particulars are given which prove the traditions to be in that respect correct. For instance, the Barolong antiquaries assert that their ancestors, in the time of a chief whose name and lineage from father to son to the present day are preserved, migrated from a country where there were great lakes and where at one time of the year shadows were cast towards the north. The Bakwena, whose branches at the beginning of the nineteenth century occupied the greater part of the territory between the Limpopo and the Vaal and also tracts of land south of the last-named river, have similar traditions, and arrived there at a date even more recent than the advent of the Barolong.

Those along the south-eastern coast are so closely related to each other in language and customs that they must have formed a community by themselves, or perhaps a single tribe, at no distant time, and as some of them are known to have crossed the Zambesi only a little more than three

centuries ago, the others cannot have long preceded them. This section of the Bantu came from some locality near the western coast, so that its route of migration crossed that of the Betshuana like the lines of the letter X.

Whether the Betshuana, as now termed, were the people who drove the Hottentots from their northern home, as Mr. Stow believed, is not quite certain; but apparently they came from the same locality. The never-ending strife in those distant regions caused first one clan and then another to flee; some made their way southward into the Rhodesia of our day, others in successive bands migrated in a south-westerly direction, crossed the Zambesi in the centre of the continent, and then, with no opponents in front except Bushmen, continued their journey along the eastern border of the Kalahari until they reached the Molopo. They were agriculturists as well as breeders of oxen, sheep, goats, and poultry, and therefore were only able to migrate slowly. So horde after horde came down, pausing perhaps for a couple of generations at stations on the route, and then resuming a southward march.

It is uncertain what tribes first settled in the territory now termed Rhodesia and in the belt of land between it and the Indian sea. The Makalanga found there at the beginning of the sixteenth century were almost certainly recent immigrants, as their dialect did not differ much from that of a horde which came down from the north about the close of the eighteenth century, but they must have been preceded by others, because the Arabs would not have formed trading settlements along the coast at a much earlier date if the country inland had been occupied only by Bushmen. Their predecessors may have been entirely exterminated, or, what is more likely, the young females may have been incorporated with the invading conquerors.

This part of South Africa was therefore in all probability the first occupied by Bantu, and it is even possible that the Bakalahari or the Leghoyas, presently to be mentioned,

may have been driven out of it by the Makalanga. All this is uncertain, and as our present knowledge may one day be vastly increased by the discovery and publication of Arabic records, it would be useless now to speculate further upon the subject.

The first immigrants or pioneers of the Bantu now living in South Africa were the ancestors of the people termed the Bakalahari and the Balala, who, if tradition can be relied upon, were once in possession of large herds of cattle. They formed a number of little bands independent of each other, who came down in succession. These pioneer parties, being small and weak, tried to fraternise with the Bushmen, and were not molested to any serious extent by those savages. Their quarrels were principally with each other. They built villages at distances far apart, and cultivated the ground about them, leaving the earlier inhabitants in undisturbed possession of the open spaces between. With these they to some extent mixed their blood, and numbers of Masarwa or Betshuana-Bushmen came into existence.

After they had settled somewhere east of the desert,—how long after there are no means of determining, even the language test failing to supply any information, so that it may have been only a few years or it may have been a few centuries,—another horde came down from the north. These were the ancestors of the people known to the first European visitors, from the name of one of their chiefs, as the Leghoyas, of whom the Bataung living in the Lesuto are the present representatives. They were better armed than the pioneer bands, upon whom they had no scruple in falling, with the object of seizing their cattle and garden produce. Many of the little communities were broken up and dispersed, some seeking refuge in the desert, where they have since been known as Bakalahari, others remaining as slaves, who were termed Balala or the paupers. The Leghoyas then settled in the country, built villages, and made gardens, just as the pioneers had done.

Some time now elapsed, which cannot be ascertained in years, but probably did not exceed a century, when another invasion took place. On this occasion the Batlapin led the way, followed closely by the much more powerful Barolong. Shortly after the middle of the eighteenth century the last-named tribe crossed the Molopo and dispersed the Leghoyas, who, however, were able to retreat to the eastward with their cattle, and then the newcomers settled in the country, where some of their descendants are still found. This was the commencement of a feud between the Bataung —a branch of the Leghoyas—and the Barolong, which was carried on without intermission until after the middle of the nineteenth century, and which was one of the leading difficulties of the government of the Orange River Sovereignty, when Molitsane on the one side and Moroko on the other could not be brought to observe peace.

These Batlapin and Barolong completed the destruction of the pioneer bands, those who had escaped the attacks of the Leghoyas being now compelled to become Bakalahari or Balala, and to live after the manner of Bushmen, except that they were obliged to give the skins of any wild animals they killed to their masters, which the Bushmen would not do. They were in the most miserable condition to which human beings can be reduced, they could not even own a jackal's skin, and their lives were regarded by their tyrants as of no more value than the lives of dogs. Whether they were originally less intelligent than other Betshuana, or whether they became stupid and spiritless from oppression and degradation, is uncertain; but when Europeans first visited these wretched people they were found to be the most abject of all the dwellers in South Africa.

There was now no attempt to conciliate the Bushmen, for the newcomers were too strong to fear their hostility. Girls of that race were taken by the Batlapin in the same manner as by the Hottentots, but against all others relentless warfare was waged. The Betshuana were armed with strong bows, and soon learned to poison their arrows; they

used also the assagai and battle-axe, and protected their bodies with a diminutive shield. In a fight on the open plain the aboriginal savages had no chance whatever, though when attacked on a mountain or among rocks they often managed to beat off their assailants. Still the country was so large, the Bantu invaders were as yet so few in number, and their settlements were so far apart, that the Bushmen could not be entirely exterminated. At the beginning of the nineteenth century they were still numerous in the territory that then began to be known as Betshuanaland, and there are still a few to be found in the desert.

In the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, when these events were taking place, the climate of the country north of the Orange and east of the Kalahari was moister than it is at present. For some unknown reason it has gradually become drier since Europeans became acquainted with it, and the process must have been going on long before the first white man made his appearance there. The traditions of the Betshuana are not needed to confirm this fact: the dry beds of ancient rivers and the remains of a luxuriant vegetation are ample evidence. It is very possible indeed that the Betshuana, by frequently burning the grass and destroying the great forests of camelthorn trees they found in the territory, hastened the process of desiccation.

After the Barolong other tribes of the same family came down, notably the Bakwena, whose branches in course of time spread over the whole country south of the Waterberg and Olifants' river eastward to the Kathlamba. They were constantly at war, plundering one another of cattle, yet they increased in number at a marvellous rate. Their battles were not attended with much loss of life, and every female on arriving at the age of womanhood began to bear children. Each tribe lived by itself in a town of from five to fifteen thousand inhabitants, around which extended to a great distance gardens of millet, beans, water-melons, and sweet cane. Beyond these their horned cattle, sheep, and goats were herded, many of which were also

kept at distant stations and brought in as needed. The towns required to be removed frequently. The garden ground would become less productive after three or four crops had been taken from it, and owing to the want of even the simplest sanitary arrangements the town itself would become offensive. Then another site would be selected, and on a fixed day the whole population would march to it and begin to erect huts and enclosures, each family taking its position in the new village exactly as in the place abandoned.

After the Bakwena the next to come down were the Bavenda group of tribes, who arrived on the southern bank of the Limpopo about the close of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century. According to their own traditions they migrated from the lower basin of the Congo, but there is sufficient evidence in their language and their customs to prove that they do not belong to the western branch of the Bantu race. Their affinities with the Bakwena group are in many respects so close that they must have separated from them at no very remote time, and it is impossible to doubt that they were first driven to the lower Congo basin from some region far to the east. The scattering of the remnants of tribes in the destructive wars towards the close of the sixteenth century, as related in the records of the Portuguese on the Zambesi, must have been in every direction, east, west, north, and south, just as in the dispersions caused by Tshaka.

It is not improbable that these people were the same as those termed by the Portuguese Cabires, who laid waste the territory between the Zambesi and the Limpopo soon after the Abambo and some of the Amazimba passed southward through it. This is mere conjecture, however, for there are no means of tracing either the origin or the fate of those Cabires who were so destructive to the Makalanga. If they and the Bavenda were the same, they must have roamed about the southern portion of what is now Mashonaland for many years before crossing the Limpopo. According to

their traditions, the Makalanga were subject to the greatest of their chiefs, which seems to point in that direction.

Before the wars of Tshaka the Bavenda occupied the whole of what is now the district of Zoutpansberg. In those wars they were dispersed, but after the emigrant farmers from the Cape Colony drove Moselekatse to the north, the fugitives who survived began to collect together again under the chief Mpofu and others, and settled once more in parts of the district from which they had fled. On the death of Mpofu, his sons Ramovana and Ramapulana fought for the chieftainship. The emigrant farmers under Commandant-General Hendrik Potgieter assisted Ramapulana, and secured the position for him, but as a vassal of their government. From that time that section of the Bavenda has been commonly known as the Baramapulana, but it was of hardly any importance until the accession in 1864 of Magadu, son of Ramapulana, to the chieftainship, which he held until his death in 1895.

Among many other sections of less note of this branch of the Bantu race are the tribes which have as their chiefs men with the dynastic titles of Pafuri and Tshivasa, and which also occupy land in the Zoutpansberg district.*

The reverend Mr. Hofmeyr, a missionary for twenty years among these people, states in his volume issued in 1890 that they are able to make out the meaning of an address in Sesuto, and that he has seen among them wooden images, such as are found in use by some of the Betshuana. This establishes their affinity with the Bakwena, and proves them to be of East African origin. But he has also ascertained that they venerate sticks stuck in the ground, such as those used by

* I am personally unacquainted with this section of the Bantu race, and am therefore entirely indebted to other authors for the information here given concerning the Bavenda, or Batsethla as sometimes termed. My principal authorities are: *Twintig jaren in Zoutpansberg: een verhaal van twintig jarigen arbeid onder de heidenen in de Transvaal, door den eerwaarden Stefanus Hofmeyr, zendeling der Nederduitsch gereformeerde kerk*; a volume of 322 pages, published at Capetown in 1890; and *History of the Native Tribes of the Transvaal*, a bluebook of 67 pages, published by the Transvaal government in 1905.

the Ovaherero to represent their ancestors, which seems to prove that their traditions of having migrated from the lower basin of the Congo are correct. Their religion is ancestor worship, like that of all other Bantu, but sacrifices to the spirits of the dead are more frequent, and food is commonly placed upon graves. Some other differences exist between these people and the Bakwena, but none of much importance.

The last to move down from the distant north to the territory below the Limpopo was the little tribe termed the Bakwebo, which arrived, it is supposed from the lower Congo basin, shortly after the middle of the eighteenth century. This is the tribe governed in our time by the chieftainess Madjadji, about whom there was supposed to be much mystery, as she was kept carefully concealed from strangers. There is no special difference, however, between these people and their neighbours, and their language is merely a link between Tshevenda and Sesuto.

The eighteenth century was far advanced before the Betshuana crossed the Vaal river. The Bataung branch of the Leghoyas were the first to take up their residence on the left bank of that stream, not far from its source. In their new settlement they were attacked by some offshoots of the Bakwena, by whom they were robbed of many of their cattle. These enemies passed onward, however, without completely destroying them, and settled along the upper banks of the Caledon, where they were joined at a later date by many others.

In 1505, when the Portuguese formed their first settlement on the south-eastern coast, the Makalanga tribe occupied the territory now termed Rhodesia and the seaboard between the Zambesi and Sabi rivers. Before the commencement of the eighteenth century that tribe was broken up by wars, of which an account will be given in another chapter, and about that time a considerable immigration began to set in from the north. The newcomers were not very distantly related to the former occupants, as they spoke a dialect of a common language, which shows that the Makalanga

themselves must have migrated from the north very recently. These immigrants, who were the ancestors of most of the people now called by Europeans Mashona, came down from some locality west of Lake Tanganyika in little parties, not in one great horde. The first to arrive was a clan under a chief named Sakavunza, who settled at a place near the present town of Salisbury.

The details of this immigration were not placed on record by any of the Portuguese in the country, who merely noticed that there was a constant swirl of barbarians, plundering, destroying, and replacing one another; and when recent investigators, like Mr. R. N. Hall, of Zimbabwe, and Mr. W. S. Taberer, the government commissioner, endeavoured to gather the particulars from the descendants of the immigrants, it was found impossible to obtain more accurate information from them concerning the events of distant times than the general fact that their ancestors came down from the north about two centuries ago. Messrs. Hall, Taberer, and other inquirers state that their proper designation is Baroswi, or Barotsi, and that they constitute a very large proportion of the population of what is termed Mashonaland at the present day.

The larger number of them settled in the territory now termed Matabeleland, where they remained until 1834, when Moselekatse began to send raiding parties in their direction. Then all those nearest the Matabele kraals, without waiting to be attacked, fled eastward, those farther north, that is the section now under Lewanika, having already been conquered by the Makololo under Sebetoane, who had taken part in the murderous career of the Mantati horde, and subsequently forced their way up from the Bakwena country. The unfortunate Makalanga, who had suffered terribly under the iron rod of the Angoni and the Matshangana, were then still further crushed until they and the Baroswi alike were brought under subjection by the Matabele.

After their arrival in the territory south of the Zambesi the Baroswi not only carried on war against the earlier

inhabitants, but among themselves one clan was constantly pillaging another, so that discord and strife were perpetual. There was no paramount power over all, every chief who was strong enough to hold his own being absolutely independent of every other. In this turmoil the aborigines almost completely disappeared, for the Bantu, at variance with each other concerning other matters, were united in endeavouring to exterminate them.

Clans of the Baroswi family continued to migrate from the distant north into the territory that is now Rhodesia until the close of the eighteenth century. In some respects, though not in any matters of importance, they differed from the earlier Bantu immigrants. Thus their custom was to dry the dead bodies of men of note before enclosing them in hides for burial, which made the corpses appear like mummies. When a man died leaving no brothers to take his widows, his principal son inherited all of them except the one who bore him. Girls, when mere infants, were contracted in marriage, though the husband could not claim them until they were capable of bearing children.

Some other customs which are commonly considered as peculiar to them are observed by many other Bantu in South Africa. Such, for instance, is the putting to death of twin children, through fear that if they were allowed to live they would try to displace the chief, and of girls who cut their upper teeth first, under the belief that if they were permitted to grow up any man marrying them would immediately die. Their skill in weaving loin cloths of wild cotton and bark fibre, and in wood carving, is likewise common to some other of the interior tribes. So also is their knowledge of building walls of unhewn stone.

They differ from the Makalanga in personal appearance, having coarser features and being blacker in colour and somewhat stouter in build. There is no other tribe in South Africa which has so many individuals bearing traces of Asiatic blood as the Makalanga, which is due to the long continuance of Arab intercourse with them in past times.

All who have dealings with them state that, though now spiritless and degraded from constant strife and oppression during more than two centuries, they possess greater latent power of advancement, especially in mechanical arts, than any other Bantu in the country.

The emigrants from the northwest who crossed the continent and then came down the eastern coast were the sturdiest and most warlike of all the barbarians. The exact time of their first appearance on the shore of the Indian ocean cannot be ascertained, but it can hardly have been earlier than the beginning of the fifteenth century. The whole number there before 1575 was very small indeed, and their language differed but slightly from those who arrived after that date. They practised agriculture, though not so extensively as the Betshuana, depending for sustenance more upon their cows and goats than upon vegetable food, and they smelted iron, which they wrought into implements coarser and clumsier than those made by the interior tribes.

They migrated slowly down as far as the Umzimvubu, when, towards the close of the sixteenth century their numbers were greatly increased, and an impetus was given to the movement southward by the irruption from the northwest into the lower valley of the Zambesi of a devastating host that pillaged and destroyed all the weaker clans in its line of march. When other food could not be procured, these invaders resorted to cannibalism, and at length became so accustomed to eat human flesh that they consumed it as an ordinary article of diet. One large section of this host was termed the Amazimba, and to this day the word zim with the southern Bantu denotes a cannibal. It enters largely into folklore tales, and is commonly used to frighten disobedient children.

Just as with the Mantati horde two centuries and a quarter later, this ferocious swarm was partly destroyed by starvation and war, and the remnants then forced their way in murderous marches through the earlier settlements to distant localities, where they remained as

conquerors. Many of the ancestors of the men who fought under Tshaka and Moselekatse thus found their way to the south and settled in the territory now termed Zululand, while the clans in advance became the separate tribes of our day—the Amaxosa, Abatembu, Amampondomsi, Amampondo, etc.—and moved rapidly onward until their advance parties reached the Kei.

The great Abambo tribe, which afterwards distributed its sections more widely than any other except the Bakwena in South Africa, migrated to the valley of the Tugela at this time. It was first seen by white men on the banks of the Zambesi above Tete, coming down from the northwest, and working terrible havoc with the weaker tribes in its way.

The Abatetwa, made famous soon after the beginning of the nineteenth century by their adventurous chief Dingiswayo, arrived at a later date. An account of this tribe was written in 1883 by a grandson of Dingiswayo and one of his inferior wives, who had received some education at a mission school, and the document was forwarded by a friend to the author of these volumes. It assigns to the Abatetwa a position of greater importance than they really filled, inasmuch as the writer claims paramountcy for them from the time of their arrival in Zululand over every other tribe in South-Eastern Africa, including even the Abambo. But this is in perfect keeping with all narratives of the kind from Bantu antiquaries, who invariably represent their own rulers as more glorious than any others, and it need not be taken into account.

He says the Abatetwa were driven across the Zambesi from some place far away in the north by their neighbours the Komanti and the Ashongwa. This was in the time of the father of Punga, the grandfather of Dingiswayo. Of the earlier history of the tribe, or even the names of its chiefs, his own ancestors, he had been unable to obtain any information that he could depend upon. Of its career or the march he says nothing, but pictures it as conquering all around it upon its arrival in Zululand, which country he is

therefore of opinion ought to be regarded as rightly belonging to it. Punga, whom he terms king, was, he says, the greatest ruler in Africa, and Mageba, one of his relatives, was a man of extraordinary ability, who did much to raise the importance of the tribe.

When the pioneers of the Bantu crossed the Umtamvuna they encountered the earlier Hottentot occupants, who were themselves recent immigrants, and who had largely mixed their blood with that of the aboriginal Bushmen. These were too feeble to resist the advancing wave from the north, and therefore met with the fate of the weaker everywhere in Africa. The males were exterminated, and the females were incorporated with the conquerors. Through this amalgamation the language of the tribes in advance was greatly affected, three of the Hottentot clicks being introduced —chiefly in words pertaining to the occupations of women,— and even the character and appearance of the people underwent a change. It is this mixture of Hottentot and Bushman blood that makes the difference between the Xosa or Tembu and the Hlubi of our day. Originally they were in every respect identical.

Along the coast the Bantu settlements were denser than in the interior, but south of the Tugela river in general only the terrace adjoining the sea and the one next above it were occupied. From these the Bushmen were entirely driven, but in advance of the migrating Bantu they massed in as great numbers as could obtain food, and held their own until the beginning of the eighteenth century, some indeed until nearly a hundred years later. They were numerous in the territory between the Kei and the Keiskama when Rarabe (pron. Khàkhàbay) a chief who was well known to the Europeans on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony, entered that district. They stole and killed his favourite racing ox, which so incensed him that he gave orders for their complete destruction, and was not appeased until none were left. On the plateau adjoining the Kathlamba from the Tugela to the Fish river they were not disturbed,

except by occasional parties of men sent to punish them for committing robberies in the lowlands, and there they remained until long after the British conquest of the Cape Colony.

On the western coast the Bantu occupation is still more recent than on the south-eastern. The first small horde that appeared there was subdued by the Hottentots, and forced to adopt the language and customs of its conquerors. These are the people now called Berg Damaras by Europeans and Ghou Damup by the Namaquas—Haukoin they term themselves,—who are Bantu or possibly negro by blood, but Hottentot by speech, religion, and many customs, and live like Bushmen almost entirely on game, insects, reptiles, and wild plants. They hardly ever attempt to cultivate the ground, and when they do, it is only to plant watermelons of the wild variety and dacha for smoking, which they use to great excess. Their habitations are made of a few branches of trees or shrubs, not always covered with mats, and their weapons and implements are of the crudest kind.

At length the Hottentots moved farther southward, and left them behind. They were then attacked by the Ovaherero, a purely pastoral and nomadic tribe, who came down from the north, drove them into the mountains of what is now Southern Damaraland, and occupied the plains themselves. The reverend C. Hugo Hahn, of the Rhenish missionary society, who was for many years a resident with the Ovaherero and collected their traditions, states that they can only with certainty be traced back to a locality somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Zambesi below the Victoria falls. From that locality they migrated westward with great herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, and then turned to the south, crossing the Kunene a little before the middle of the eighteenth century. After passing the Kaoko, they met the Haukoin or Ghou Damup, who fled from them to the mountains. They next encountered clans of the Namaqua Hottentots, whom they fought with and gradually drove far to the southward.

This war with the Hottentots lasted many years, and occasionally the Ovaherero would be beaten and driven back for a time, as was found to be the case in 1792 by the expedition from the Cape Colony which penetrated the country in that year. But occasional reverses were followed by successes until Oasib, chief of the Hottentot tribe called the red nation, applied to Jonker Afrikaner for assistance. Jonker was the son of that Jager Afrikaner who was a widely dreaded freebooter at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and who was more widely known at a later date as having in his old age become a convert to Christianity. Jonker followed the career of his father very closely. At this time he was living on the bank of the Orange river, but as soon as the request of Oasib reached him, he and his followers set out to join in the fray. The tide of fortune then turned, and the Ovaherero were speedily driven back to the Zwakop, which was afterwards regarded as the boundary between the two races. This was the condition of things when in 1814 the reverend H. Schmelen arrived in the country and commenced work there as a missionary among the Namaquas.

After they crossed the Kunene the Ovaherero threw off a section, which took the name Ovambanderu and became quite independent, and from both of the tribes numbers of individuals who were without property of any kind moved away to seek food like Bushmen. These destitute persons are called Ovatyimba, and form distinct communities. Of all the inhabitants of South Africa, the Ovaherero and their offshoots have the reputation of being the most heartless and unfeeling towards each other, hence the condition of the Ovatyimba. These people differ in many respects from the Bantu of the interior and the eastern coast, though they are of the same stock and speak a dialect of the same language. They do not practise agriculture, but depend for sustenance upon wild plants and their horned cattle and sheep. Some of their peculiar customs will be described farther on, which will show them to be less advanced than the other members of their race.

The Ovaherero were preceded by the Avare group, of which the Ovambo tribe is the best known. This group consists of eleven distinct tribes, who occupy a small tract of land south of the Kunene river some distance from the coast. These people are industrious agriculturists, breeders of cattle, and workers in iron. They sink wells, sometimes thirty metres in depth, manufacture many useful articles, and are altogether far in advance of their southern neighbours. They are believed to have migrated from the valley of the Congo river, but the exact locality is unknown. Their dialect differs considerably from that of the Ovaherero, though there are strong reasons for supposing that the last-named people migrated from the same valley to the neighbourhood of the Zambesi some time before their removal to their present home. North of the Avare group the tribes need not be mentioned, as they live beyond the territory to which these pages are limited.

Along the western coast, north of the Zwakop river, the Ovaherero, like all the other invaders, attempted to exterminate or drive out the Bushmen. Pastoral communities and wild hunters could not exist side by side. But they did not entirely succeed, for the nature of the country is such that escape to barren and almost waterless parts was comparatively easy. The Kalahari desert lay on the east, into which the weaker party could retreat when hard pressed, without danger of successful pursuit. And so it happens that Bushmen are still to be found in what is now German South-West Africa, though not in any considerable number.

The invasion of the Bantu did not at first affect the Hottentots, except at the extremities of the thin line they occupied along the coast, for nowhere else did they come in contact.

Observations made during the sixteenth century by Portuguese missionaries and travellers in South Africa throw much light upon the origin of several customs which to more recent observers of Bantu habits have always been obscure. With the Hottentots or Bushmen the Portuguese

rarely came in contact, and of these people they give no information of any value. But with sections of the Bantu they lived in as close intimacy as Dutchmen or Englishmen have ever done, they learned the language of these people, studied their customs, and several of the best informed recorded what they observed. They tell of no golden age of peace and happiness disturbed by the intrusion of white men, but of almost constant strife and cruelty and misery. From them we learn that long before the time of Tshaka despots as clever and as ruthless as he spread desolation over wide tracts of land, that cannibalism as practised in the Lesuto and in Natal during the early years of the nineteenth century was no new custom with sections of the Bantu race, that the military organisation and mode of attack employed by Dingiswayo and Tshaka were not inventions of those chiefs, but were known long before their time. Much besides can be learned from their writings, so that any description of the dark-skinned tribes south of the Zambesi published in English ten years ago can now be considerably amplified.

These people, together with their kindred who possess a vast extent of Africa north of the Kunene and Zambesi rivers, are now usually termed the Bantu, in accordance with a proposal of the late Dr. Bleek. They had no word except tribal names to distinguish themselves from other races, *ntu** in their language meaning a human being or person of any colour or country; but ethnologists felt the want of a specific designation for them, and adopted this as a convenient one. In the division of mankind thus named are included all those Africans who use a

* In the dialect of the Tembu, Pondo, Zulu, and other coast tribes: *um-ntu* a person, plural *aba-ntu* people; diminutive *um-ntwana* a child, plural *aba-ntwana* children; abstract derivative *ubu-ntu* the qualities of human beings, diminutive *ubu-ntwana* the qualities of children. In the Herero dialect: *omu-ndu* a person, plural *ova-ndu* people. In the dialect of the Basuto: *mo-tho* a person, plural *ba-tho* persons. The pronunciation, however, is nearly the same, the *h* in *batho* being sounded only as an aspirate, and the *o* as *oo*, *baat-hoo*.

language which is inflected principally by means of prefixes, and which in the construction of sentences follows certain rules depending upon harmony of sound.*

Before the Bantu tribes migrated to Africa south of the Zambesi great differences existed between them, and there was a tendency for these differences to increase after their settlement where Europeans found them. Intercourse between the different sections was restricted, as in general each tribe regarded its neighbour with jealousy, and each group of tribes of recent common origin looked upon every other such group as enemies. Besides the change which takes place in all unwritten languages in the course of even a few generations, there was a habit with some of these tribes which hastened the variation, and therefore made intercourse more difficult. This was the *hlonipa* custom, by which women were obliged constantly to invent new words, so that each dialect changed in a different manner from all others. The structure of the dialects remained the same, but the words used by a Tembu, for instance, could not be understood by a Morolong or an Omuherero. An educated European can at once see that the great majority of the roots in all the dialects is the same, and that there is consequently but one language; but the people who used those dialects were unable to detect this.

A change of speech was followed, though much more slowly, by change of customs and ceremonies, and even by dissimilar modifications of religious belief. Then there was an influx of Asiatics into the territory along the eastern coast. These mixed their blood with that of the Bantu living there, which resulted in a great advance in the

*This definition is of course only a general one, and must be subject to exceptions, because races cannot be grouped by means of language alone. Thus the people called Berg Damaras, who have already been referred to and who live in the tract of country along the western coast north of Walfish Bay, are Bantu by blood, though they speak a Hottentot dialect, and resemble Bushmen in their habits. After their subjugation they were forced to adopt the language of their conquerors. This may also have been the case with tribes in other parts of the continent.

mental condition of the eastern tribes over those of the west.

For general purposes the tribes can be classified in the three groups already mentioned as migrating to the southern portion of the continent by separate routes, though there are many trifling differences between the various branches of each of these. In the first group can be placed those along the eastern coast south of the Sabi river, and those which in recent times have made their way from that part of the country into the highlands of the interior. The best known of these are the Amaxosa, the Abatembu, the Amampondo, the Amabaca, the Abambo (now broken into numerous fragments), the Amazulu, the Amaswazi, the Amatonga, the Magwamba, the Matshangana, and the Matabele. This group can be termed the eastern coast tribes, though some members of it are now far from the sea.

The second group can include the tribes that at the beginning of the nineteenth century occupied the greater part of the interior plain north of the Orange and came down to the ocean between the Zambesi and Sabi rivers. It will include among many others the Batlapin, the Batlaro, the Barolong, the Bahurutsi, the Bangwaketse, the Bakwena, the Bamangwato, the Bavenda, the Makalanga, the Baroswi, and the whole of the Basuto, north and south. This group can be termed the interior tribes.

The third will comprise the Bantu living between the western part of the Kalahari desert and the Atlantic ocean, who may be termed the western coast tribes. These are very recent immigrants, and before the beginning of the twentieth century had no influence upon South African history. They differ in many respects from their eastern kindred, being blacker in colour, coarser in appearance, and duller in intellect than the others, if an average be taken. The dialects spoken by them are also more primitive. It will not be necessary to describe the people of this section as fully as the others, but the principal points of difference will be given for comparison.

The individuals who composed the first and second named groups varied in colour from deep bronze to black. Some had features of the lowest negro type: thick projecting lips, broad flat noses, and narrow foreheads; while others had prominent and in rare instances even aquiline noses, well developed foreheads, and lips but little thicker than those of Europeans. Among the eastern tribes these extremes could sometimes be noticed in the same family, but the great majority of the people were of a type higher than a mean between the two. They were of mixed blood, and the branches of the ancestral stock differed considerably, as one was African and the other Asiatic.

Those who occupied the land along the south-eastern coast were in general large without being corpulent, strong, muscular, erect in bearing, and with all their limbs in perfect symmetry. Many of them were haughty in demeanour, and possessed a large amount of vanity. The men were usually handsomer than the women, owing to the girls being often stunted in growth and hardened in limb by carrying burdens on their heads and toiling in gardens at an early age. The people of the interior were in general somewhat smaller than those of the coast, though they were far from being diminutive specimens of the human race.

Though at times the Bantu presented the appearance of a peaceable, good-natured, indolent people, they were subject to outbursts of great excitement, when the most savage passions had free play. The man who spent a great part of his life gossiping in idleness, not knowing what it was to toil for bread, was hardly recognisable when, plumed and adorned with military trappings, he had worked himself into frenzy with the war dance. The period of excitement was, however, short. In the same way their outbursts of grief were violent, but were soon succeeded by cheerfulness.

They were subject to few diseases, and were capable of undergoing without harm privations and sufferings which the hardiest Europeans would have sunk under. Occasionally there were seasons of famine caused by prolonged drought, when whole tribes were reduced to exist upon nothing else

than wild roots, bulbs, mimosa gum, and whatever else unaided nature provided. At such times they became emaciated, but as long as they could procure even the most wretched food they did not actually die, as white people would have done under similar circumstances. Nor did pestilence follow want of sustenance to the same extent as with us.

One cause of their being a strong healthy people was that no weak or deformed children were allowed to live long. There was no law which required an end to be put to the existence of such infants, but it always happened that they died when very young, and public opinion was opposed to any inquiry into the mode of their death. Every one, even the parents, believed that it was better they should not live, and so they perished from neglect. But owing to the prevalence of this custom in preceding generations, the number of weaklings born was very small indeed. For some reason an exception was occasionally made in the case of albinos, who, though regarded as monstrosities, were not always destroyed in childhood. These hideous individuals, with features like others of their race, were of a pale sickly colour, and had weak pinkish eyes and hair almost white. Very few, however, were to be seen in any tribe, and in some none at all.

Under natural conditions the Bantu were a longer-lived people than Europeans. The friar Dos Santos found several women at Sofala who perfectly remembered events that had taken place eighty years before, and modern observers in other parts of the country have noticed the same circumstance. A man of this race placed beside a white colonist of the same age invariably looks the younger of the two, and in any tribe individuals can be found with personal knowledge extending over the ordinary span of life in Europe or America. They were probably the most prolific people on the face of the earth. All the females were married at an early age, very few women were childless, and in most of the tribes provision was even made by

custom for widows to add to the families of their dead husbands. In some parts the brothers of the deceased took them, in others male companions were selected for them by their late husband's friends, in each case the children born thereafter being regarded as those of the dead man.

The language spoken by the Bantu was of a high order, subject to strict grammatical rules, and adequate for the expression of any ideas whatever. Its construction, however, was very different from that of the languages of Europe. It was broken up into many dialects, so that individuals from the western coast, from the interior, and from the eastern coast could not understand each other, though the great majority of the words used by all were formed from the same roots. In the south-eastern dialects the English sound of the letter *r* was wanting, while in some of the others the sound of our *l* was never heard. In all there were combinations of consonants which it was very difficult for strangers of mature years to master.

There were clicks in only a few dialects of the language spoken by the Bantu family. These were derived in the south from Hottentot, and elsewhere from Bushman sources. They were introduced by females who were spared when the hordes to which they belonged were conquered, as is evident not only from tradition, but from the words in which the clicks occur being chiefly those pertaining to the occupations of women. Some of the dialects spoken on the coasts of lower Guinea and the Indian ocean bear a closer resemblance to each other than to those between them, owing to a cause which has already been explained.

The form of government varied from that of a pure despotism, established by a successful military ruler, to a patriarchal system of a simple order. In the former everything centred in the person of one individual, at whose word the lives of any of his subjects were instantly sacrificed, who was the owner of all the property of the tribe, and who appointed officials at his pleasure. He was served by

attendants in the most abject attitudes, could only be approached by a subject unarmed and crouching, and arrogated to himself a form of address due to a deity. He was an absolute ruler in every respect, and by his will alone his subjects were guided, though to retain such power for any length of time it was necessary for him not to counteract any strong desire of the warriors of his tribe. This purely despotic form of government was rarely found among the people of the interior, who were in general more peaceably disposed than those of the coast. It ended as a rule when a man of feeble intellect succeeded the one who established it.

The more common system, the one indeed that may be termed normal except when interfered with by a chief possessing great military genius, was of a milder character. Under it a tribe was composed of a number of sections which may be termed clans, each under its own chief, but all acknowledging the supreme authority of one particular individual. Sometimes the heads of the clans were members of the family of the paramount chief, more or less distantly connected with him by blood, in which case the tribe was a compact body, every individual in it having a common interest with every other; but it often happened that clans broken in war, though retaining their own chiefs, were adopted as vassals by a powerful ruler, and in these cases the cohesion of the different sections, owing to the object of their worship being different, to jealousy, and to rival views, was much less firm.

Among the interior tribes, owing to the misconduct or incompetency of individual chiefs, this system sometimes broke down, when a condition of greater freedom resulted. Here the common people acquired sufficient power to make their wishes respected to some extent, and nothing of importance was undertaken without a general assembly of the men of the tribe being first held, when each one was at liberty to express his views. But even in these cases the opinion of a member of the ruling family was regarded as of vastly greater weight than that of a commoner. Merit

was of small account against privilege of blood in the estimation of any branch of the Bantu race.

Among the tribes under the normal system of government the rule of the paramount chief in times of peace was hardly felt beyond his own kraal. Each clan possessed all the machinery of administration, and in general it was only in cases of serious quarrels between them or of appeals from judicial decisions that the tribal head used his authority. In war, however, he issued commands to all, and on important occasions he summoned the minor chiefs to aid him with advice.

The members of the ruling families, even to the most distant branches, were of aristocratic rank, and enjoyed many privileges. Their persons were inviolable, and an indignity offered to one of them was considered a crime of the gravest nature. Even the customs of the people were set aside in favour of the chiefs of highest rank. A common man of the coast tribes, for instance, could not marry certain relatives by blood, no matter how distant, but a great chief could, though connections nearer than fourth or fifth cousins were very rare. Such a marriage was strictly forbidden to a commoner, but was allowed in the chief's case, in order to obtain a woman of suitable birth to be the mother of the heir in the great line.

Portuguese writers relate that the principal chiefs in the territory between the Sabi and Zambesi rivers took their own sisters and daughters as their wives of highest rank, but perhaps this statement arose from their attaching the European meaning to the words sister and daughter, which when used by people of the Bantu race applied equally to cousins and nieces on the father's side. No marriages with sisters or daughters in the European sense is permitted at the present day, but with cousins — sisters in the Bantu sense—they are common among the interior tribes.*

* The following words in the Xosa dialect will further illustrate the difference between European and Bantu ideas as to relationship. *Baba* is the word used in addressing father, father's brother, or father's half-

With regard to the common people, the theory of the universal Bantu law was that they were the property of the rulers, consequently an offence against any of their persons was atoned for by a fine to the chief. Murder and assaults were punished in this manner. When a man died, his nearest relative was required to report the circumstance to the head of the clan, and to take a present of some kind with him as consolation for the loss sustained.

But while the government of all the tribes was thus in theory despotic, the power of the chiefs in those which were not under military rule was usually more or less restrained. In each clan there was a body of counsellors—commonly hereditary—whose advice could not always be disregarded. A great deal depended upon the personal character of the chief. If he was a man of resolute will, the counsellors were powerless; if he was weak they possessed not only influence, but often real authority. Then there was a custom that a fugitive from one clan was entitled to protection by the chief of another with which he

brother. Little children say *Tata*. But there are three different words for father, according as a person is speaking of his own father or uncle, of the father or uncle of the person he is speaking to, or of the father or uncle of the person he is speaking of. Speaking of my father, *bawo* is the word used; of your father, *uyihlo;* of his father, *uyise*. *Ma* is the word used in addressing mother, any wife of father, or the sister of any of these. The one we should term mother can only be distinguished from the others, when speaking of her, by describing her as *uma wam kanye*, *i.e.* my real mother; or *uma ondizalaya*, *i.e.* the mother who bore me. Speaking of my mother, *ma* is the word used; of your mother, *unyoko;* of his or her mother, *unina*. *Malume* is the brother of any one called mother. A paternal aunt is addressed as *dadebobawo*, *i.e.* sister of my father, showing a distinction between relatives on the paternal and maternal side. *Mukwetu* is the word used by females in addressing a brother, half-brother, or male cousin. Males when addressing any of these relations older than themselves, use the word *mkulumwa;* and when addressing one younger than themselves, say *mninawe*. A sister and a female cousin are alike termed *odadi wetu, our* sister—the pronoun being always used in the plural form;—though sometimes the word *mea*, an abbreviation of *umzalwana*, *i.e.* of our family, is applied to a cousin on the mother's side by females older than the one addressed. *Mtalama* is an endearing form of expression, meaning child of my mother.

took refuge, so that an arbitrary or unpopular ruler was in constant danger of losing his followers. This custom was an effectual check upon gross and unrestrained tyranny.

The law of succession to the government favoured the formation of new tribes. The first wives of a paramount chief were usually the daughters of some of his father's principal retainers; but as he grew older and increased in power his alliance was courted by great families, and thus it generally happened that his consort of highest rank was taken when he was of advanced age. Usually she was the daughter of a neighbouring ruler and was selected for him by the counsellors of the tribe, who provided the cattle required by her relatives. She was termed the great wife, and her eldest son was the principal heir.

Another of his wives was invested at an earlier period of his life, by the advice of his counsellors and friends, with the title of wife of the right hand, and to her eldest son some of his father's retainers were given, with whom he formed a new clan. The government of this was entrusted to him as soon as he was full grown, so that while his brother was still a child he had opportunities of increasing his power. If he was the abler ruler of the two, a quarrel between them arose almost to a certainty as soon as the great heir reached manhood and was also invested with a separate command. If peace was maintained, upon the death of his father the son of the right hand acknowledged his brother as superior in rank, but neither paid him tribute nor admitted his right to interfere in the internal government of the new clan.

In some of the tribes three sons of every chief divided their father's adherents among them. In the latter case the third heir was termed the representative of the ancients or the son of the left hand.

In this manner new tribes, entirely independent of the old ones from which they sprang, were frequently formed. This was especially the case when the adjacent territory was thinly occupied by a weak people like the Bushmen, affording means

for the ruler of lower rank without difficulty to remove to a distance from his brother. The disintegrating process was to some extent checked by frequent tribal wars and feuds, which forced chiefs of the same family to make common cause with each other, but whenever there was comparative peace it was in active operation, and so a steady and rapid expansion of the Bantu race was effected.

With the limitations that have been mentioned, in the life of the people the chief was everything, his wishes were the guide of their conduct, his orders were implicitly obeyed, the best of all they had was at his disposal. To every one else they could tell the grossest falsehoods without disgrace, but to him they told the simple truth, and that in language which could not bear two meanings. They could not even partake of the crops in their own gardens until he gave them leave to do so. In this case, when the millet was ripe the chief appointed a day for a general assembly of the people at his residence, that was known as the great place; he then went through certain rites, among which was the offering of a small quantity of the fresh grain to the spirits of his ancestors, either by laying it on their graves or by casting it into a stream, after which ceremony he gave the people permission to gather and eat.

Every people has its own standard of virtue, which if it does not live up to, it at least respects. The Bantu had theirs, which consisted in fidelity to the chief. A man might be a thorough scoundrel according to European ideas, cruel, lascivious, intemperate, mean: all this mattered nothing if he was devoted to his chief, in which case in the estimation of his tribe he was virtuous. There was a reason for this, as will presently be seen.

The most solemn oath that a man could take was by either some great legendary ruler or the one then living, though he did not regard even that as binding if he believed that by speaking falsely the interest of the chief would be advanced. Portuguese writers state that the people near the Zambesi swore *by Mambo*, which was rather one of the titles of the

head of a great tribe than his proper name, but the individual or his line of ancestors was meant. At present the form of oath varies slightly in different places, the most common expression being I call to witness or I point to, as *Ki supa ka Mokatshane*, the usual oath of a Mosuto, I point to Mokatshane.

The amount of taxes paid by the people for the maintenance of government was not fixed, as it is in European states. The ordinary revenue of a chief was derived from confiscations of property, fines, and presents, besides which his gardens, that were usually large, were cultivated by the labour of his people. The right of the ruler to the personal service of his subjects was everywhere recognised, and it extended even to his requiring them to serve others for his benefit. The Portuguese engaged carriers from a chief, who took a considerable portion of their earnings, just as the tribal heads at present send their young men to a distance to work for them. Men who would not think of assisting in the cultivation of their own gardens went willingly, when called upon to do so, to labour in those of their chief. The breast of every animal killed, which was regarded as the choicest meat, was sent to him as his right, and certain furs were his alone. When he felt so disposed, he made a tour through his tribe, when each kraal visited provided food for him and his attendants, and if he was in need, made him a present of cattle. The oxen, often from fifty to a hundred, needed to procure his principal wife—who was to be the mother of the future ruler—were contributed by his retainers.

In some of the tribes the chief might be said to be the owner of everything. Cattle taken in war were his property, and though the cows were distributed among the people, who had the use of the milk, he could demand their restoration at any time. All trade with strangers passed through his hands, and he kept as much of the gains as he chose. Though this system was confined to the military tribes, even in those less highly organised it was usual for

the chiefs to exact heavy dues upon commercial transactions between their subjects and others. When, for instance, the first fairs were established by the British authorities on the Xosa border, the chiefs fixed the quantity of beads or other merchandise to be received for every ox or tusk of ivory, and commonly took about half for themselves, without the people raising any objection.

The charges upon the government, except in the case of the military tribes, were limited to the cost of entertainment of attendants and visitors, and of presents to favourites or for services performed. There were no salaries to be paid, and no public works to be provided for. In all the country from the Zambesi to the southern coast there was not so much as a road, nothing better than a footpath, which, though leading towards a fixed point, wound round every obstacle in the way, great or small, for no one cared to remove even a puny boulder to obtain a more direct line. Many of these footpaths were worn deep by constant use for years, but they were never repaired. The simplest bridge over a stream was unknown, nor was there any other public work, if barricades of stones in the approaches to hill tops are excepted.

CHAPTER IV.

DESCRIPTION OF THE BANTU (*continued*).

THE religion of the Bantu was based upon the supposition of the existence of spirits that could interfere with the affairs of this world. These spirits were those of their ancestors and their deceased chiefs, the greatest of whom had control over lightning. When the spirits became offended or hungry they sent a plague or disaster until sacrifices were offered and their wrath or hunger was appeased. The head of a family of commoners on such an occasion killed an animal, and all ate of the meat, as the hungry ghost was supposed to be satisfied with the smell. In case of the chief or the community at large being affected, the sacrifice was performed with much ceremony by the tribal priest, an individual of great influence, who had as other duties to ward off from the ruler the malevolent attacks of wizards and to prepare charms or administer medicine that would make the warriors who conducted themselves properly and bravely invulnerable in battle.

An instance may be given to illustrate the operation of this religion. Upon the death of Gwanya, a chief of great celebrity in the Pondomsi tribe, he was buried in a deep pool of the Tina river. The body was fastened to a log of wood, which was sunk in the water and then covered with stones. The sixth in the direct line of descent from this chief, Umhlonhlo by name, to save himself from destruction by an enemy became a British subject at his own request, but in October 1880 his clan treacherously murdered three English officials, and went into rebellion, which resulted in his being obliged afterwards to take

shelter in Basutoland.* In 1891 one of Umhlonhlo's sons ventured into the district where his father had lived, and there committed an assault, for which he was arrested and sent before a colonial court to be tried. It was a time of intense heat and severe drought, which the tribe declared were caused by the spirit of Gwanya, who in this manner was expressing displeasure at the treatment accorded to his descendant. As a peace-offering therefore, cattle were killed on the banks of the pool containing his grave, and the flesh was thrown into the water, together with new dishes full of beer. The prisoner was sentenced to pay a fine, which was at once collected by the people for him. A few days later rain fell in copious showers, which of course confirmed the belief of the tribe that what was right had been done, and that the spirit of Gwanya was appeased.

In all such cases the conception of the spirit was that it manifested its power by doing harm, and must therefore be propitiated. The idea of a God of love was foreign to the Bantu mind until introduced by the teaching of Christian missionaries, and even then the converts were very prone to reflect more on the anathemas than on the invitations contained in holy writ. It was a peculiar turn of mind, which was not quickly diverted to an opposite direction.

The Bantu had no idea of reward or punishment in a world to come for acts committed in this life, and thus there was no other restraint of religion upon their actions than was connected with loyalty to their chiefs dead and living. Except when compelled by circumstances to do so, they thought as little as possible of their own after fate, and seldom allowed reflection of any kind to disturb them.

* After eluding capture for twenty-three years, Umhlonhlo was at length arrested, though he made a desperate resistance. In 1904 he was put upon his trial for murder, but was acquitted, as it could not be proved, though it was morally certain, that he had personally taken part in the crime. In the interim through the agency of a Roman catholic missionary he had become a convert to Christianity. During his confinement and when on his trial he conducted himself with such dignity as to win the admiration of every one, a feature of character, however, that most Bantu chiefs would display under similar circumstances.

A belief in the existence of spirits would seem to have as its consequence a belief in some special place where they resided, but the Bantu power of reasoning in such matters did not extend so far. Their minds in this respect were like those of little children, who are content to credit marvellous things told to them, without attempting to investigate any of the particulars. It is only since European ideas have been disseminated among them that such a question has arisen, and that one has said the spirits resided in the sky, another that their place of abode was a cavern under the earth. They acted as if the ghosts of the dead remained at or near their habitations when in life, and they were constantly fearful of meeting them at night. In all parts of the country there were localities, usually wild or secluded glens, which had the reputation of being haunted, and where no one would venture to appear alone after dusk. This might be said, however, of almost every part of Europe as well, so that in it the Bantu did not differ from the most highly civilised section of mankind.

No man of this race, upon being told of the existence of a single supreme God, ever denies the assertion, and among many of the tribes there is even a name for such a Being, as, for instance, the word Mukuru used by some, or Umkulunkulu, the Great Great One, used by the Hlubis and others. From this it has been assumed by some investigators that the Bantu are really monotheists, and that the spirits of their ancestors are regarded merely as mediators or intercessors. But such a conclusion is incorrect. The Great Great One was once a man, they all assert, and before our conception of a deity became known to them, he was the most powerful of the ancient chiefs, to whom tradition assigned supernatural knowledge and skill.

When a person was killed by lightning no lamentation was made, as it would have been considered rebellion to mourn for one whom the great chief had sent for. In cases of death within a kraal the relatives and friends of the deceased often exhibited the most passionate symptoms of grief, which,

however, seldom lasted long, though they generally shaved their heads as a sign of mourning. There was an idea that something connected with death attached to the personal effects of the deceased, on which account whatever had belonged to him that could not be placed in the grave, his clothing, mats, head rest, &c., was destroyed by fire. The hut in which he had lived was also burned, and no other was allowed to be built on the spot. If he had been the chief, the whole kraal was removed to another site. Those who touched the corpse or any of the dead man's effects were obliged to go through certain ceremonies, and then to bathe in running water before they could associate again with their companions. Except in cases of persons of rank, however, very few deaths occurred within kraals. As soon as it was seen that any one's end was near, the invalid was carried to a distance and left to die alone, in order to avert the danger of the presence of the dreaded something that could not be explained.

If it happened that a common person died within a kraal, the corpse was dragged to a distance, and there left to be devoured by beasts of prey; but chiefs and great men were interred with much ceremony. A grave was dug, in which the body was placed in a sitting posture, and by it were laid the weapons of war and ornaments used in life. When the grave was closed, such expressions as these were used: Remember us from the place where you are, you have gone to a high abode, cause us to prosper. To prevent desecration of any kind, watchers were then appointed to guard the grave, who for many months never left its neighbourhood. In some instances it was enclosed with a fence large enough to form a fold, within which selected oxen were confined at night. These cattle were thenceforward regarded as sacred, were well cared for, and allowed to die a natural death. The watchers of the grave also were privileged men ever afterwards.

The funeral customs of the Ovaherero were somewhat different from those of the other tribes. The backbone of

a dead man was broken, to prevent his spirit from practising mischief, and the body was then doubled up and buried in a deep grave with the face towards the north, the home of his ancestors. These people believed that the eyes of the spirit of a dead man were in the back of the head. They slaughtered the favourite oxen of the deceased, in order that the shades of these might accompany him to the spirit world, but they did not eat the flesh of the dead animals, as was the practice with other Bantu. In such cases the Ovaherero killed the oxen by shedding their blood, whereas cattle killed by them on all other occasions were bound fast and suffocated, with their faces turned towards the north.

Before the interment of the paramount chief of a powerful tribe, especially of a great military ruler, a number of his attendants were killed, and their bodies were placed around his in the grave in such a way as to keep it from contact with the earth. The object was to provide him with servants in the spirit world. His principal wives either took poison voluntarily or were killed, to serve him as companions. If he had a favourite dog, ox, or other animal, that was also slaughtered, to give him pleasure. It does not follow that such animals were regarded as immortal, but there was something unexplainable connected with them that the dead chief could enjoy, just as there was with his assagais and his metal bracelets. Afterwards, especially when drought occurred or any disaster overtook the people, sacrifices were offered at the grave, and prayers were made to him for assistance. When a number of chiefs had thus been interred, a tacit selection was made of the one who had been the wisest and most powerful in his day, and the others were neglected and gradually forgotten except by the antiquaries who preserved their names.

The custom of slaughtering wives and attendants upon the death of a great chief was not observed by the less important tribes, nor upon the death of mere chiefs of clans or of other individuals of position; but a practice carried out to the present

day shows that it must at one time have been general. When a man of what may be termed aristocratic rank died his widows betook themselves to forests or lonely places, where they lived in seclusion as best they could for a month or longer, according to the time of mourning customary among their people. During this period no one even spoke to them, and when, as sometimes —but not always—happened, they were supplied with food, it was done by leaving a little millet in a place near their haunts where they would probably find it. Death from exposure and starvation was frequently the result of this custom. At the end of the time of mourning the emaciated creatures returned to their kraals, when ceremonies of purification were observed, their clothing and ornaments were burned, and their relatives supplied them with the new articles that they needed. This method of mourning must have been developed from the practice of slaughtering such wives of a man of rank as could not make their escape when he died, in order that they might accompany him to the land of spirits.

The slaughter of attendants upon the death of a chief proves a belief in the continued existence of his spirit, but the burial of the weapons and ornaments of a warrior with his corpse is by no means such conclusive evidence. The fear of the mysterious power death was such that every one dreaded to come in contact with the personal effects of the individual smitten down, lest these also should partake of the infection. Whatever could be deposited in a grave was therefore disposed of in this manner, and the hut, mats, clothing, and everything else belonging to the deceased were destroyed by fire. To keep anything whatever as a memento of a departed relative or friend was an idea utterly foreign to the Bantu mind.

The tribes farthest in advance on the south-east had a dim belief in the existence of a powerful being, whom they termed Qamata, and to whom they sometimes prayed, though they never offered sacrifices to him. In a time of danger one of them would exclaim: "O Qamata help me," and when the danger was over he would attribute his deliverance to the same being. But of Qamata nothing more was known than

that he was high and mighty, and that though at times he helped individuals, in general he did not interfere with the destinies of men. Recent investigations have shown that this belief did not extend far among the Bantu tribes, and it is now supposed to have been acquired from the Hottentots. Not that the Hottentots venerated a deity thus designated, but that a knowledge of some other object of worship than their own ancestral shades having been obtained through Hottentot females whom they took to themselves, this name was given to the unknown divinity.

The Bantu believed that the spirits of the dead visited their friends and descendants in the form of animals. Each tribe regarded some particular animal as the one selected by the ghosts of its kindred, and therefore looked upon it as sacred. The lion was thus held in veneration by one tribe, the crocodile by another, the python by a third, the bluebuck by a fourth, and so on. When a division of a tribe took place, each section retained the same ancestral animal, and thus a simple method is afforded of ascertaining the wide dispersion of various communities of former times. For instance, at the present day a species of snake is held by people as far south as the mouth of the Fish river and by others near the Zambesi to be the form in which their dead appear.

This belief caused even such destructive animals as the lion and the crocodile to be protected from harm in certain parts of the country. It was not indeed believed that every lion or every crocodile was a disguised spirit, but then any one might be, and so none were molested unless under peculiar circumstances, when it was clearly apparent that the animal was an aggressor and therefore not related to the tribe. Even then, if it could be driven away it was not killed. A Xosa of the present time will leave his hut if an ancestral snake enters it, permitting the reptile to keep possession, and will shudder at the thought of any one hurting it. The animal thus respected by one tribe was,

however, disregarded and killed without scruple by all others.

The great majority of the people of the interior have now lost the ancient belief, but they still hold in veneration the animal that their ancestors regarded as a possible embodied spirit. Most of them take their tribal titles from it, thus the Bakwena are the crocodiles, the Bataung the lions, the Baputi the little blue antelopes. Each terms the animal whose name it bears its *siboko*, and not only will not kill it or eat its flesh, but will not touch its skin or come in contact with it in any way if that can be avoided. When one stranger meets another and desires to know something about him, he asks "to what do you dance?" and the name of the animal is given in reply. Dos Santos, a Portuguese writer who had excellent opportunities of observation, states that on certain occasions, which must have been frequent, men imitated the actions of their siboko; but that custom has now almost died out, at least among the southern tribes.

Frequently two or more different animals were held in veneration by a tribe. This circumstance arose in some instances from the community being composed of fragments of others blended together, in a few instances from the name of its founder having been that of an animal. Thus from the crocodiles a section might separate and become independent under a chief named the baboon. The people would then in all probability venerate the baboon as well as the crocodile, for the twofold purpose of honouring their founder and giving themselves a distinctive title. Occasionally in recent times an inanimate object has been venerated, thus the Barolong have iron as their siboko, the Bamorara the wild vine. The sun, the sky, rain, &c. are thus used as the siboko of different tribes that have long since lost all knowledge of the belief of their remote ancestors. Owing to the many terrible convulsions these people have gone through, only a glimmering remembrance of the faith and

practice of the distant past has remained to some sections of them.

The tribes along the south-eastern coast, though separated into distinct communities absolutely independent of each other since the beginning of the seventeenth century, as far back as their tradition reaches, are of common stock. They all regard the same species of snake as the form in which their ancestral shades appear. Further, their tribal titles, with few exceptions, are derived from the chief who left the parent stock, thus the Amahlubi are the people of Hlubi, the Abatembu the people of Tembu, the Amaxosa the people of Xosa, Hlubi, Tembu, and Xosa being the chiefs under whom they acquired independence. The exceptions are derived from some peculiarity of the people, but in these cases the titles were originally nicknames given by strangers and afterwards adopted by the tribes themselves.

Nearer than the spirits of deceased chiefs or of their own ancestors was a whole host of hobgoblins, water spirits, and malevolent demons, who met the Bantu turn which way they would. There was no beautiful fairyland for them, for all the beings who haunted the mountains, the plains, and the rivers were ministers of evil. The most feared of these was a large bird that made love to women and incited those who returned its affection to cause the death of those who did not, and a little mischievous imp who was also amorously inclined. Many instances could be gathered from the records of magistrates' courts in recent years of demented women having admitted their acquaintance with these fabulous creatures, as well as of whole communities living in terror of them.

The water spirits were believed to be addicted to claiming human victims, though they were sometimes willing to accept an ox as a ransom. How this belief works practically may be illustrated by facts which have come under the writer's cognizance.

In the summer of 1875 a party of girls went to bathe in a tributary of the Keiskama river. There was a deep hole

in the stream, into which one of them got, and she was drowned. The others ran home as fast as they could, and there related that their companion had been lured from their side by a spirit calling her. She was with them, they said, in a shallow part, when suddenly she stood upright and exclaimed "It is calling." She then walked straight into the deep place, and would not allow any of them to touch her. One of them heard her saying "Go and tell my father and my mother that it took me." Upon this, the father collected his cattle as quickly as possible, and went to the stream. The animals were driven into the water, and the man stood on the bank imploring the spirit to take the choicest of them and restore his daughter.

On another occasion a man was trying to cross one of the fords of a river when it was in flood. He was carried away by the current, but succeeded in getting safely to land some three or four hundred metres farther down. Eight or ten stout fellows saw him carried off his feet, but not one made the slightest effort to help him. On the contrary, they all rushed away frantically, shouting to the herd boys on the hill sides to drive down the cattle. The escape of the man from the power of the spirit was afterwards attributed to his being in possession of a powerful charm.

Besides these spirits, according to the belief of the Bantu, there are people living under the water, pretty much as those do who are in the upper air. They have houses and furniture, and even cattle, all of their domestic animals being, however, of a dark colour. They are wiser than other people, and from them the witchfinders are supposed to obtain the knowledge of their art. This is not a fancy of children, but the implicit belief of grown-up men and women at the present day. As an instance, in July 1881 a woman came to the writer of this chapter, who was then acting as magistrate of a district in the Cape Colony inhabited by Bantu, and asked for assistance. A child had died in her kraal, and the witchfinder had pointed her out as the person who had caused its death. Her husband was absent, and the result of her being *smelt out* was that no one would

enter her hut, or so much as speak to her. If she was in a path every one fled out of her way, and even her own children avoided her. Being under British jurisdiction she could not be otherwise punished, but such treatment as this would of itself, in course of time, have made her insane. She denied most emphatically having been concerned in the death of the child, though she did not doubt that some one had caused it by witchcraft. The witchfinder was sent for, and, as the matter was considered an important one, a larger number of people than usual appeared at the investigation. On putting the ordinary tests to the witchfinder he failed to meet them, and when he was compelled, reluctantly, to admit that he had never held converse with the people under the water, it was easy to convince the bystanders that he was only an impostor.

By some of the Bantu tribes great regard was paid to fire. The Makalanga when first visited by Europeans four centuries ago were in the habit of extinguishing all the fires throughout their country on a certain day named by the chief, and lighting them again from a flame produced at his residence by friction of two pieces of wood, which observance was attended with much ceremony. The Ovaherero keep a fire constantly burning at the place where cattle are sacrificed to the spirits of the dead at the principal ruler's kraal, which flame is considered sacred, and is guarded by the eldest unmarried daughter of the chief. When the kraal is removed the sacred fire is put out, and is lit afresh at the new place of settlement with much ceremony, when pieces of wood to represent their ancestors are set up. Symbolic figures of their ancestors are kept in their huts and are held in veneration by some of the Betshuana also, but the sacred fire, if ever it existed among them, has long since died out.

Of the origin of life or of the visible universe the Bantu never thought, nor had any one of them ever formed a theory upon the subject. There was indeed a story told in all the tribes of the cause of death, but it is in itself an

apt illustration of their want of reasoning power in such matters. The chameleon, so the tale was told, was sent to say that men were to live for ever. After he had gone a long time the little lizard was sent to say that men were to die. The lizard, being fleet of foot, arrived first at his journey's end, and thus death was introduced. But in whom the power lay of forming these decisions, and of sending the animals with the messages, they did not trouble themselves to inquire, nor did it strike them that the narrative was incomplete without this information until Europeans questioned them concerning it.

Some of the eastern Bantu had a legend that men and animals formerly existed in caverns in the bowels of the earth, but at length found their way to the surface through an opening in a marsh overgrown with reeds. They always pointed to the north as the direction in which this marsh lay. The Bantu of the interior believed that men and animals first made their appearance from a fissure in a large rock far away in the north. Wizards had power to cause this rock to open and shut at will, but whether it was the entrance to a cavern, or merely itself hollow, no one could say. The legends collected in different parts vary greatly in detail as to the manner in which the men and animals made their appearance, the special gifts bestowed on each—by whom is never stated—and the mode of their dispersion subsequently. The Bushmen in these tales are not included in human beings, they were already in existence when the men and cattle appeared.

The Ovaherero and their kindred believe that the first man and woman came out of a tree similar to a particular species found in the country they now inhabit. From this couple were born the ancestors of the Hottentot and Bantu tribes, but not of the Bushmen, the Berg Damaras, or the baboons, classifying the three latter as equal. Cattle also and game animals first came from the same tree, but emerged from it in herds, not in couples. They pay such respect to every tree of this species that they will not even

lop a twig from it, but when passing by one make an offering to it by throwing a bunch of grass or some sticks at its foot. For this reason it is now commonly called by the Europeans in the country the Damara mother tree, Damup, corrupted by the Dutch colonists into Damara, being the Hottentot name of all the black people living north of Walfish Bay, who are distinguished merely as Cattle Damaras, that is Ovaherero, and Berg Damaras, or those who live like Bushmen.

This belief of the Ovaherero is possibly of Hottentot origin, for the people that hold it have strangely mixed up the worship of Heitsi-Eibib with that of their own ancestral shades. Wherever barbarous races intermingle, even as enemies as in this instance, each derives something from the beliefs of the other. Mr. Stow gives a legend of some of the Bushmen near the mouth of the Orange river, that men and animals first came forth from a hole in the ground at the foot of a great tree, which may also have had a Hottentot origin.

Dos Santos states that the people of his time in the Zambesi basin observed certain fixed days as holy, and abstained from labour upon them; but this custom was certainly not universal, and very likely the friar was mistaken. At any rate modern observers in that part of the country as well as in the south have noticed that no days or seasons are considered more sacred than others, though there are times marked by particular events when it is considered unlucky to undertake any enterprise, and even movements in war are delayed on such occasions.

Still it must be observed that, though no days were considered holier than others, or were specially dedicated to religious observances, with the Bantu, as probably with all uncivilised people, the time of a new moon was one of special rejoicing. Next to the apparent course of the sun through the sky, the changes of the moon are those which to every one are most striking. This is particularly so in a country like South Africa, where a moonlit evening,

when the winds are lulled and the air is deliciously fresh and cool, is to Europeans the pleasantest part of the twenty-four hours, far more so to people who knew of no other artificial light than that of burning wood. It is no wonder therefore that the new moon was hailed with shouts of joy, that its praises were chanted in set words, and that among some of the tribes dances and other ceremonies took place in its honour. With all this, however, the moon was not regarded as a deity, nor was the evening of rejoicing considered more holy than any other. After the crops were gathered, many of the tribes were accustomed to offer special sacrifices to the spirits of their dead chiefs, though there was no fixed day in every year set apart for the purpose, and indeed they did not even know how to reckon time as we do. A chief who considered that his people, male or female, needed rest, might issue an order that no work was to be done on a particular day, but that did not cause it to be regarded as holy.

Each ruling family had an individual connected with it, one of whose duties can properly be described as that of a priest, for it was he who in times of calamity sacrificed cattle for the tribe to the spirits of the dead chiefs. Another of his duties was by means of charms and incantations to ward off evil influence of every kind from the reigning ruler. When a community was broken in war and compelled to become a vassal clan of some other tribe, it retained its priest until by time or circumstances a thorough incorporation took place. That was a process, however, not usually completed until several generations had passed away.

As a factor in the government of a Bantu tribe religion was more powerful than in any European state, for the fear of offending the spirits of the deceased chiefs, and so bringing evil upon themselves, kept the clans loyal to their head. He was the representative, the descendant in the great line, of those whose wrath they appeased by sacrifices. A tribe all of whose clans were governed by offshoots of the family of the paramount chief was thus immensely stronger in war

than one of equal size made up of clans brought together by chance. In the one case the religious head was the same as the political, in the other they were separate.

The belief in witchcraft was deep-seated and universal. The theory was that certain evil-disposed persons obtained power from the demons to bewitch others, and so to cause sickness, death, or disaster of some kind. They were believed often to use snakes, baboons, and other animals as their messengers. They could only be discovered by individuals who went through a very severe novitiate, and to whom the necessary knowledge was imparted by people who lived under water. Undoubtedly some of the witchfinders were impostors; but many of them were really monomaniacs, and had the firmest conviction in their ability to do what they professed.

Occasionally a person believed that he had received revelations from the spirit world. If his statements were credited, his power at once became enormous, and his commands were implicitly obeyed. Crafty chiefs sometimes made use of such deranged beings for the purpose of exciting the people to war, or of inducing them to approve of measures which would otherwise have been unpopular.

There were individuals who professed to be able to make rain, and whose services were frequently called into use when any part of the country suffered from drought. If it happened soon afterwards that rain fell they received credit for it, and were amply rewarded, while if the drought continued they asserted that some unknown powerful wizard was working against them, a statement that was in most cases believed. Sometimes, however, the chief and people lost faith in them, when they were pronounced guilty of imposture, and were tied hand and foot and thrown over a precipice or into a stream.

There were also persons who were skilful in the use of herbs as remedies for diseases, and who were well acquainted with different kinds of poison. This knowledge was transmitted in certain families from father to son, and was kept profoundly

secret from the mass of the people. Some of their medicines were beyond doubt of great efficacy, such as those used for the cure of dysentery, for causing virulent sores to heal, and to counteract snake bites.* But with these, and classified as of equal value, they professed to have medicines that would cause love from a woman, favour from a chief, &c. The writer of this was once so fortunate as to come into possession of the whole stock in trade of a famous Xosa herbalist. Each article in it was afterwards submitted to different practitioners, under exceptionally favourable circumstances for eliciting information, when most of them were at once recognised and their uses pronounced. Some were cures for various diseases, one was a love philter, and one was a piece of wood which was to be burned and the smoke inhaled, when the person using it would find favour in the eyes of his superior. But there were several whose use no one would divulge, their properties being regarded as secrets upon the strictest maintenance of which the fortunes of the herbalist families depended. In every case, in addition to the medicine, charms were made use of, and the one was as much relied upon as the other by the people at large.

The remedies used by these people would have been more efficacious if they had understood how to prepare them in proper doses, but this was never considered as of consequence, nor had they the knowledge necessary to repeat the doses at regular intervals. Very often when a man of importance was ill, instead of taking the medicine himself he would require one of his attendants to swallow it, in the full belief that if it was taken by some one about him it would answer as well as if

* A valuable pamphlet, in which the botanical, native, and colonial names, and the uses of a great many of these medicinal plants are given, was not long ago prepared and published by the late Andrew Smith, Esqre., M.A., for many years a teacher in the higher department of the Lovedale Missionary Institution, who expended a great deal of time and thought in the investigation of this subject. My friend the reverend Dr. W. A. Soga, a medical missionary with the Bomvanas in the district of Elliotdale, informed me a few years ago that a remedy for one form of cancer was certainly known to some herbalists of his acquaintance, but though he had long been endeavouring to acquire their secret, he had been unable to do so.

taken by himself. Of course in such cases faith, or the influence of the mind upon the body, was the real healer.

It often happened that the three offices of witchfinder, rain-maker, and herbalist were combined in the same person, but this was not always the case, and the occupations were distinct. When practising, these individuals attired themselves fantastically, being painted with various colours, and having the tails of wild animals suspended around them.

Charms were largely depended upon to preserve the wearers against accident or to produce good luck. They were merely bits of wood or bone, which were hung about the neck, and were regarded just as lucky pennies and fortunate days are by some silly Europeans. But the belief was firm in charms and medicines which gave to an assagai the property of hitting the mark, to an individual the property of winning favour, and such like. The issue of warlike operations was divined by revolting cruelties practised on animals. At the commencement of hostilities, and often before an engagement, two bulls were selected to represent the opposing parties. These were then skinned alive, and success was foretold to the combatant represented by the one that lived longest. By some means, however, each band of warriors was made to believe that the result denoted victory to its side. While this was taking place pieces of flesh were cut from other living bulls, which the warriors devoured raw, in the supposition that by this means their courage in battle would be increased. Cruelty of so dreadful a kind shocked no heart among the spectators, for the Bantu in general were utterly indifferent to the sufferings of animals, except favourites such as a man's own race-ox or his pet dog.

The tribes of the interior were more superstitious than those of the coast, as they were guided in nearly all their actions by the position in which some pieces of bone or wood of the character of dice fell when they were cast on the ground. The largest made of wood were oblong tablets, about fifteen centimetres in length, five centimetres in width, and a centimetre and a half in thickness, but usually those of wood, and almost invariably those of bone, were smaller, the commonest being about six

centimetres long, two centimetres and a half wide, and a third of a centimetre in thickness. On each tablet a different pattern was carved, and each had a signification different from the others. Sometimes instead of tablets pieces of bone or of ivory carved in various shapes were used, in the manufacture of which a great deal of patient labour was expended. The usual number employed was five, but more were sometimes found in a set. If an ox strayed the *daula* was thrown to ascertain in what direction it had gone, if a hunt was to take place it was consulted to indicate in what quarter game was most readily to be found, in short it was resorted to in every case of doubt. Each individual carried with him a set of these mystic articles strung on a thong, to be used whenever required. This superstitious practice, just as it was described more than three hundred years ago by the friar Dos Santos, is still prevalent and firmly believed in.

With many of the tribes there was a custom upon the accession of a chief to kill the commoner with the largest head among the people, in order that his skull might be used by the priest as a receptacle for the charms against witchcraft employed in the protection of the ruler. Such a receptacle was regarded as requisite for that particular purpose. Only a generation ago a man was killed with this object by a section of the Xosa tribe that was not then under British rule, but that had been to some extent for many years under European influence. The writer has heard his grandchildren speak of the event without the slightest feeling of horror, with as much indifference, in fact, as if they were relating any ordinary occurrence.

The Bantu had a system of common law and perfectly organised tribunals of justice, which, however, were sometimes set aside by the great military tribes. Their laws came down from a time to which even tradition did not reach, and those which related to ordinary matters were so well known to every member of the community that trials were mere investigations into statements and proofs of occurrences. When complicated cases arose, precedents were sought for, antiquaries were referred

to, and celebrated jurists even in other tribes were consulted. If all these means of ascertaining the law failed, and the chief before whom the case was being tried was not a man of generally recognised ability, it often happened that no judgment was given, for fear of establishing a faulty precedent. From the decisions of the minor chiefs there was a right of appeal to the head of the tribe.

The law held every one accused of crime guilty, unless he could prove himself innocent. It made the head of a family responsible for the conduct of all its branches, the kraal collectively in the same manner for each resident in it, and the clan for each of its sub-divisions. Thus if the skin of a stolen ox was found in a kraal, or if the footmarks of the animal were traced to it, the whole of the residents were liable to be fined. There was no such thing as a man's professing ignorance of his neighbour's doings: the law required him to know all about them, or it made him suffer for neglecting a duty which it held he owed to the community. Every individual was not only in theory but in practice a policeman.

A lawsuit among these people was commonly attended by all the men of the kraal where it took place. Nothing was more congenial than to sit and listen to the efforts of the querists to elicit the truth, or for the ablest among them to assist in the investigation. The trial took place in the open air. The person charged with crime or the defendant in a civil suit underwent a rigorous examination, and anything like warning him against criminating himself was held to be perversion of justice.

The accuser or plaintiff or a friend prosecuted, and a friend of the individual on trial conducted the defence; the counsellors, who acted as assessors, or any individual of recognised legal ability who happened to be present, put any questions they chose; and the mass of spectators observed the utmost silence and decorum. At the conclusion of the trial, the counsellors expressed their opinions, and the chief then pronounced judgment.

There were only two modes of punishment, fines and death, except in cases where an individual was charged with having

dealt in witchcraft, when torture, often of a horrible kind, was practised. In this class of trials every one was actuated by fear, and was in a state of strong excitement, so that the formalities required on other occasions were dispensed with. The whole clan was assembled and seated in a circle, the witchfinder, who was fantastically painted and attired, went through certain incantations, and when all were worked into a state of frenzy he pointed to some individual as the one who had by bewitchment caused death or sickness among the people, murrain among cattle, blight in crops, or some other disaster. The result to the person so pointed out was confiscation of property and torture, often causing death. The number of persons who perished on charges of dealing in witchcraft was very great. The victims were usually old women, men of property, persons of eccentric habits, or individuals obnoxious to the chief. Any person in advance of his fellows was specially liable to suspicion, so that progress of any kind towards what we should term higher civilisation was made exceedingly difficult by this belief.

No one except the chief was exempt, however, from being charged with dealing in witchcraft. The cruelties practised upon the unfortunate individuals believed to be guilty were often horrible, but a single instance, which occurred in July 1892, will be sufficient to exemplify them. A wife of the Pondo chief Sigcawu being ill, a witchfinder was directed to point out the person who caused the malady. He declared that Ma Matiwane, sister of the Pondomsi chief Umhlonhlo and widow of Sigcawu's father, was the guilty person, and that she had a lizard and a mole as her servants in the evil work. By order of Sigcawu, a number of young men then seized Ma Matiwane, stripped her naked, fastened her wrists and ankles to pegs driven in the ground, and covered her with ants irritated by pouring water over them. She suffered this torture for a long time without confessing, so they loosed her, saying that her medicines were too strong for the ants. They then lashed her arms to a pole placed along her shoulders, and taking her by the feet and the ends of the pole, they held her over a fire. Under this torture she confessed that she was guilty, but as she could not produce

the lizard and the mole, she was roasted again three times within two days. No European could have survived such a burning; but she was ultimately rescued by an agent of the Cape government, and recovered. This woman had taken care of Sigcawu after the death of his own mother, yet on the mere word of a witchfinder she was thus horribly tortured. And instances of this kind were common events in the olden times.

Frequently, when a great calamity had occurred, or the life of a chief was believed to be in danger, not only the individual pointed out by the witchfinder, but his or her whole family was exterminated, and even entire kraals were sometimes wiped out of existence on such occasions. So strong was the belief in witchcraft and in the power of witchfinders to detect those guilty of practising it that instances were not rare of persons accused admitting that the charge against them must be correct and that they ought to suffer death, because some evil emanation over which they had no control must have gone forth from their bodies and caused the disaster, though they had done nothing directly to produce it.

The Bantu were seen in the most favourable light at ordinary lawsuits before the chiefs and counsellors, and in the most unfavourable light at trials for the discovery of wizards and witches. In the one case men were found conducting themselves with the strictest gravity and propriety, in the other case the same people were seen as a panic-stricken horde, deaf to all reason, and ready to perform most atrocious acts of cruelty, even upon persons who just previously were their companions.

The sentences pronounced in ordinary cases were often such as would have seemed unjust to Europeans, but that was because our standard of comparative crime is not the same as theirs, and because with us there is supposed to be no difference of punishment according to the rank of the criminal. With them the ruling families in all their branches had the privilege of doing many things with impunity that commoners were severely punished for. Bribery was not unknown, but in courts as open as theirs, and where there was the utmost freedom of enquiry, it could not be practised to any great extent. When a case was

talked out, every one present was usually acquainted with its minutest details.

Among the northern tribes trial by ordeal was resorted to in cases where personal or circumstantial evidence was wanting, and in appeal from decisions of witchfinders. The form of ordeal varied. In some instances the accused person was required to lick or to pick up a piece of red-hot iron, and if he was burnt he was condemned as guilty. In other cases he drank the poisonous juice of a certain herb, and if it had effect upon him he was doomed to immediate death. In others again he was forced to drink a huge basin of hot water mixed with a bitter emetic, and if he could not retain it the charge against him was regarded as proved. Yet so confident were innocent persons that no harm would come to them from the iron, the poison, or the emetic, that they accepted the ordeal with alacrity. Among the southern tribes this practice was not common, though it was well known.

CHAPTER V.

DESCRIPTION OF THE BANTU (*continued*).

THE Bantu knew of no other periods in reckoning time than the day and the lunar month, and could describe events only as happening before or after some remarkable occurrence, such as the death of a chief, a season of famine, or an unusually heavy flood. The rising of the Pleiades shortly after sunset was regarded as indicating the planting season. To this constellation, as well as to several of the prominent stars and planets, they gave expressive names. They formed no theories concerning the nature of the heavenly bodies and their motions, and were not given to thinking of such things. In later times, if questioned by a European, they might venture to remark that the sky was smoke which had risen from fires, but in such cases it would be evident that the effort to find a solution to a query of this kind was new to them.

They had no knowledge of letters or of any signs by which ideas could be expressed. There were old men who professed to be acquainted with the deeds of the past, and who imparted their knowledge to the young, but their accounts of distant times seldom corresponded in details. They touched lightly upon defeats sustained by their own tribe, but dilated upon all its victories. In the traditions of each independent community a particular chief, usually the second or third in descent from the founder, was invariably represented as having conferred extraordinary benefits upon his people. He was the inventor of iron weapons, the one who decorated them with copper ornaments, and who taught them to use millet for food. Thus among the Barolong at the present day all this is attributed to

Noto, son of Morolong; among the Amaxosa to Tshawe, great-grandson of Xosa; among the Abatetwa to Umyambosi, son of Umtetwa. Now it is absolutely certain that long before the time of Morolong, Xosa, and Umtetwa, who founded these modern tribes, iron, copper, and millet were in general use by almost all sections of the Bantu. But in praise of chiefs who probably gained some important victory, or under whose rule there was unusual prosperity, whatever the succeeding generations could think of as being great improvements was ascribed to their wisdom, and has been handed down as tribal history from one antiquary to another. Thus these narratives convey incorrect impressions, and little is beyond question except the genealogies of the great chiefs, which have been carefully preserved for ten or twelve generations.

The greater part of their folklore was neither of a moral character, nor did it convey any useful lessons. The actors in it were animals which spoke as human beings, persons who were bewitched and compelled to appear as beasts, individuals with magical powers, fantastic creatures, imps, cannibals, young chiefs, girls, &c., &c. There was nothing that led to elevation of thought in any of these stories, though one idea, that might easily be mistaken on a first view for a good one, pervades many of them: the superiority of brain power to physical force. But on looking deeper it is found that brain power was always interpreted as low cunning; it was wiliness, not greatness of mind, that won in the strife against the stupid strong. Such an idea was in full accord with the life of the people, and it may have been on this account that the tales were so much liked. Where force was directed as mercilessly as it is among brutes, the weak were compelled to scheme against the strong. The little boy, who lived in constant terror of larger ones, the woman, who was the drudge, not the companion, of her husband, the petty clan, that felt the exactions of a powerful neighbour, all were obliged to scheme, and no people on earth ever learned the art of deception more thoroughly than the Bantu. Thus these traditional tales, which came down from a remote time,—as they were found with little variation among tribes that

could have had no intercourse with each other for many centuries,—gave a large amount of pleasure to those among whom they passed current, though to European minds there was nothing amusing or interesting in them. Some specimens will be given in the next chapter.

Many of the proverbs in common use, on the contrary, conveyed excellent practical lessons of prudence and wisdom. The following are a few of those collected by the writer when residing with the Xosas, and they might be extended to fill many pages:—

A brand burns him who stirs it up, equivalent to our English one Let sleeping dogs lie.

Like the marriage feast of Mapasa, used to denote anything unusually grand. The marriage festivities of one of the ancients, Mapasa by name, are said to have been carried on for a whole year.

Misfortune of soup made of shanks and feet, applied to any person who never does well; but is always getting into trouble. The kind of soup spoken of is very lightly esteemed.

One fly does not provide for another, a saying of the industrious to the idle, meaning that each should work for himself as the flies do.

Bakuba is far away, no person ever reached it. Bakuba is an ideal country. This proverb is used as a warning against undue ambition, or as advice to be content with that which is within reach. It is equivalent to our English saying It is no use building castles in the air.

They have slaughtered at Kukwane, where much meat is obtainable. According to tradition, there was once a very rich chief who lived at Kukwane, and who entertained strangers more liberally than any who went before or who came after him. This proverb is used to such persons as ask too much from others, as if to say: It was only at Kukwane that such expectations were realised.

It is not every one who is a son of Gaika. Gaika was at the beginning of the nineteenth century the most powerful chief

west of the Kei. This proverb signifies that all are not equally fortunate.

He has drunk the juice of the flower of the wild aloe. Said of a dull, sleepy person. This juice when drunk has a stupefying effect, and benumbs the limbs so as to make them powerless for a time.

The walls have come into collision, said of any dispute between persons of consequence.

A person who will not take advice gets knowledge when trouble overtakes him.

You have cast away your own for that which you are not sure of, equivalent to the English proverb A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.

He is a buck of an endless forest, a saying applied to a shiftless person, one who never continues long in any occupation.

You are lighting a fire in the wind, said to any one who favours strangers in preference to relatives, or to their disadvantage.

There is no beast that does not roar in its den, meaning that a man recognises no superior in his own establishment. Equivalent to Every cock crows on his own dunghill.

A dog of the wind, a saying applied to any one who has no settled plan of living.

I, the adhesive grass, will stick fast to you. This proverb is used as a warning to any one to avoid a bad habit or an unworthy companion that cannot easily be got rid of.

The sun never sets without fresh news.

They are people of experience who do not sleep at a strange place, said in praise of one who is smart in going a message, or who performs any duty at a distance quickly.

The land is dead, a saying which implies that war has commenced.

One does not become great by claiming greatness, used to incite anyone to the performance of noble deeds. It means that a man's actions, not his talk and boasting, are what people judge of his greatness by.

It is the foot of a baboon, a saying denoting a treacherous person.

He has gone in pursuit of the (fabulous) birds of the sea, a saying applied to one whose ambitious aspirations are not likely to be realised.

You are creeping on your knees to the fireplace. Used as a warning to any one who is following a course that must lead to ruin. It is as if one said: You are like an infant crawling towards the fire circle in the middle of the hut, who is sure to get burnt.

It has stuck fast by one of the front legs. This saying is used when any one has committed himself to a matter of importance. An animal cannot extricate itself easily when fast by one of its front legs.

It dies and rises like the moon. Said of any question that springs up again after it is supposed to be settled.

There is no plant that comes into flower and does not wither. Descriptive of the life of man.

The crab has stuck fast between the stones at the entrance of its hole. Said of any one who is involved in difficulties of his own creation, or of one who raises an argument and is beaten in it.

To-morrow is also a day. Said to any one who is in undue haste or who is impatient in the execution of a task. It is the proverb most acted upon by men of the Bantu race.

Of poetry they had a fairly rich store, but there was nothing particularly grand in it. It was chanted by men on special occasions, and consisted chiefly of adulation of chiefs, deeds of war, and actions of animals. Thus a favourite ox might have a chant in its praise. The war chants, in certain parts of which the whole of the men present joined, were certainly impressive, but those in ordinary use were monotonous and disagreeable to a European ear. All were distinguished by a note of sadness. These people, though their voices were rich and melodious, had no conception of such vocal music as we are accustomed to: they had neither rhymic hymn, nor song, nor glee. Their musical instruments were of the rudest kind, mostly

calculated to make noise rather than melody, those in ordinary use being capable of producing only a monotonous thrumming sound. The best consisted merely of pieces of wood or iron for keys, with calabashes attached to them, arranged on stretched strings, and struck with a small round-headed cane, or of thin iron keys fastened over a gourd or hollow block of wood, and touched by the hand. Of these there were several kinds, but all were constructed on the same principle.

Every chief of highest rank in the military tribes was attended by individuals whose duty was to act as official praisers. These persons were attired in the most fantastic costumes, thus one might have his head and every part of his body covered with the skin of a lion, another with that of a leopard, and so on. On any appearance of the chief, they shouted in a kind of chant a poem in which greatness of every kind was attributed to him, using such terms as great elephant, great despoiler, great ravisher, great conqueror, and great soothsayer. Very often at the same time drums were beaten and horns were sounded, making a din gratifying to the Bantu ear, but intolerable to that of a European. The chiefs of tribes in the ordinary condition had also their official praisers, who were, however, more modest in their words, and whose chants were seldom accompanied by such a deafening noise of discordant instruments.

The heads of the independent communities along the eastern coast from the Zambesi river to Kosi Bay had dynastic names, which they assumed upon succeeding to the chieftainship, and by which they were afterwards known, just as all the rulers of ancient Egypt were termed Pharaoh. Thus the paramount chiefs of the tribe that occupied the south-eastern shore of Delagoa Bay took the name Nyaka, those of the adjoining tribe to the westward Kapela, those of the tribe living along the lower course of the Limpopo river Manisa, and those of the great Makalanga tribe, that occupied the eastern part of what is now Rhodesia and the adjacent territory to the sea, Mnamatapa. Each of these dynastic names originally had a special signification, and was derived from some occurrence connected with the founder of the ruling family or one of the most distinguished of

his descendants. The custom applied only to paramount chiefs. South of Kosi Bay dynastic names were not used, owing probably to the manner in which the tribes were formed and their recent origin.

The names given to children at birth were often changed at a later age, especially in the case of chiefs who performed any noteworthy act, or with a view to flattery, a custom that makes research into their history somewhat difficult. It frequently happened also that a chief was known to his own people by one name, and to neighbouring tribes by another very different. In our own day there are many instances of this custom. Thus a chief of a Barolong clan, Montsiwa as his own people call him, is termed Seyangkabo (meaning intruder in a bad sense) by some of his immediate neighbours, and Motshele oa Maaka (the fountain of lies) by others. Some of the names given to notable persons were very expressive, and of these also there are many instances at present. Thus Sigcawu (the great spider), the paramount Xosa chief, was so named on account of his supposed cleverness, Dalindyebo (creator of wealth, from roots uku dala to create and indyebo riches), the paramount Tembu chief, on account of his having been born during an exceedingly abundant harvest, Ngonyama (the lion), a Gaika chief, on account of his personal bravery, Uzwinye (one word, from roots izwi a word and nye one), the reverend Mr. Hargreaves, on account of his constantly recommending peace. When a woman is married, her husband's parents give her a new name, by which she is known to his family afterwards. Upon the birth of her first child, whether son or daughter, she is usually called by every one else after the name given to the infant, Ma * *, the mother of * *.

When about fifteen or sixteen years of age boys in nearly all the tribes were circumcised. The rite was purely civil. By it a youth was enabled to emerge from the society of women and children, and was admitted to the privileges of manhood. Its performance was attended with many ceremonies, some of a harmless, others to European ideas of a criminal nature. At a certain period in every year, unless it was a time of calamity or the chief had a son not ready, all the boys of a clan who were

old enough were circumcised. Thereafter for a couple of months or longer they lived by themselves, and were distinguished by wearing a peculiar head-dress and a girdle of long grass about the loins, besides having their bodies covered with white clay. During this period they had license to steal freely from their relatives, provided they could do so without being caught in the act. After returning to their homes, they were brought before the old men of the tribe, who lectured them upon the duties and responsibilities which they had taken upon themselves. Presents of cattle and weapons were afterwards made by their friends to give them a start in life, and they could then indulge in immorality without let or hindrance from their elders.

In case a scion of the ruling house was growing up, the performance of the rite of circumcision was generally allowed to stand over for a year or two, so that he might have a large number of companions. These were all supposed to be bound to him by a very strong tie. In after years they were to be his counsellors and attendants, and in case of danger were to form his bodyguard. In modern times no instance has been known of any one who was circumcised at the same time as a chief afterwards proving unfaithful to him, but numerous instances have come under the notice of Europeans where such persons have sacrificed their lives for him.

With some—if not all—of the interior tribes at the time of circumcision the youths were formed into guilds with passwords. The members of these guilds were bound never to give evidence against each other. The rites of initiation were kept as secret as possible, but certain horrible customs connected with them were known. One of these was the infusion of courage, intelligence, and other qualities. Whenever an enemy who had acted bravely was killed, his liver, which was considered the seat of intelligence, the skin of his forehead, which was considered the seat of perseverance, and other members, each of which was supposed to be the seat of some desirable quality, were cut from his body and baked to cinders. The ashes were preserved in the horn of a bull, and during the circumcision ceremonies were mixed with other ingredients into a kind of paste and administered by the

tribal priest to the youths, the idea being that the qualities which they represented were communicated to those who swallowed them. This custom, together with that of using other parts of the remains of their enemies for bewitching purposes, led them to mutilate the bodies of all who fell into their hands in war, a practice which infuriated those whose friends were thus treated, and often provoked retaliation of a terrible kind.

Among the Ovaherero and kindred tribes boys were generally circumcised between the ages of four and seven years, and therefore the rite had not the same signification as it had with other Bantu. From it they dated their age, naming the most important event at the time of their circumcision as their starting point in life, just as other Bantu name the most important event at the time of their birth. These people differed further from their eastern kindred by mutilating themselves in a peculiar manner. When a child was eight or ten years of age its four lower front teeth were broken out, and the corresponding upper front teeth were filed with stones into the shape of triangles with the base downwards. This was their national mark, as the mode of wearing the hair is with many other tribes.

Among the tribes along the eastern coast females who arrived at the age of puberty were introduced into the state of womanhood by peculiar ceremonies, which tended to extinguish virtuous feelings within them. Originally, however, the very worst of the observances on these occasions was a test of discipline. The object of the education of the males was to make them capable of self-restraint. They were required to control themselves so that no trace of their emotions should appear on their faces, they were not to wince when undergoing the most severe punishment. In olden times a further test was applied, which has now degenerated into the most abominable licentiousness. It will be sufficient to say that the young women who attended the revels on these occasions were allowed to select temporary companions of the other sex, and if they declined to do so, the chief distributed them at his pleasure.

As the first edition of this chapter was being prepared, a chief, who was regarded as being more advanced towards civilisation than most of his people, came into legal collision with the European authorities for distributing a large number of girls in this manner in a district within the Cape Colony.

But degrading as this rite was among the Bantu of the coast, among some of those of the interior it was even more vile. All that the most depraved imagination could devise to rouse the lowest passions of the young females was practised. A description is impossible.

The other ceremonies observed on this occasion varied among the tribes, but an account of those of the Amaxosa at the present day will give a general idea of all. When a girl of this tribe arrives at the age of puberty, messengers are sent by her father to all the neighbouring kraals to invite the young women to attend the "ntonjane." The girl in the meantime is kept secluded in the hut of an aunt, or other female relative, and her father does not see her. Soon parties are seen coming from all sides, singing as they march. The first that arrive halt in front of the cattle kraal, where they are joined by those who come later. When the girls are all assembled, the father selects an ox to be slaughtered, and the meat is cooked for a feast. The women then dress the girls for the dance, and when this is done they are ranged in rows in front of the cattle kraal. They are almost naked, having on only a girdle round the waist, and an apron, called *cacawe*, made for the occasion out of the leaves of a certain plant. In their hands they hold assagais, using them as walking sticks.

When all is ready, four of the girls step out of the front row and dance, the rest singing; and when these are tired four others step out, and so on, until all the girls present have danced. The spectators then applaud the best dancer, or if they do not at once fix upon the same person, the girls dance until all present agree. The girls then give room to the men and women that in the meantime have arrived, who form themselves in lines in the same manner, and dance until it is decided which of them surpass the others. The dancing is continued until sunset, when the men

and women return home, leaving the party of girls, called the *jaka*, who remain overnight. Next day dancing is resumed in the same order, the guests usually arriving very early in the morning.

If the girl's father is a rich man three oxen are slaughtered, and the ntonjane is kept up for twelve days. On the thirteenth day the young woman comes out of the hut where she has all the time been living apart from her family. If the girl is a chief's daughter the ntonjane is kept up for twenty-four days. All the counsellors send oxen to be slaughtered, that there may be plenty for the guests to eat.

The following ceremony takes place on the occasion of a chief's daughter coming out of the house in which she was concealed during the twenty-four days :—

A son of her father's chief counsellor puts on his head the two wings of a blue crane (the indwe), which are regarded as an emblem of bravery only to be worn on this occasion and by veterans in time of war. He goes into the hut where she is, and when he comes out she follows him. They march towards the kraal where the dancing took place, the girl's mother, the jaka or party of young women, the girl's father, and his counsellors, forming a procession. More cattle are slaughtered for the *indwe*, and then dancing is renewed, after which the girl drinks milk for the first time since the day when she was concealed in the hut. Large skin bags containing milk are sent from different kraals to the place where the ntonjane is held. Some milk is put into a small vessel made of rushes, a little of it is poured on the fire-place, the aunt or other female relative in whose charge the girl was takes the first mouthful, then she gives the milk to the girl, who, after having drunk, is taken to her mother's house. The people then disperse, and the ntonjane is over.

This ceremony acts as an advertisement to people far and wide that the girl can now be applied for in marriage.

The Bantu were polygamists, and women occupied a lower position than men in their society. Marriage was an arrangement, without any religious ceremony, by which in return for a girl cattle were transferred to her relatives by the husband or

his friends. It did not make of a woman a slave who could be sold from hand to hand, nor did it give her husband power to maim her. In its best aspect this method of marriage was a protection to a woman against ill usage, as well as a guarantee to the husband that she would study his interests. If he maimed her, or treated her with undue severity, she could return to her father or guardian, who was allowed in such cases to retain both the woman and the cattle, but if she abandoned him without sufficient cause he could reclaim the cattle he had transferred and she lost caste in the eyes of every one. In its worst aspect it permitted a parent or guardian to give a girl in marriage to the man who offered most for her, without the slightest reference to her inclinations. A woman was a drudge, upon whom the cultivation of the ground and other severe labour fell, she could inherit nothing, and she was liable to moderate castigation from her husband, such as a parent is at liberty to inflict upon a child, without protection from the law. Wealth was estimated by the number of wives and cattle that a man possessed, and the one was always made use of to increase the other. The husband was head or lord of the establishment, and the wives were required to provide all the food except meat and milk. Each had a hut of her own, which she and her children occupied, and the husband used his caprice as to which of them he associated with at any time.

Though the transfer of cattle alone made a marriage binding, it was customary to engage in festivities in connection with it. Those ordinarily observed in the Xosa tribe at the present day are fairly typical of all. Among these people the whole of the marriage ceremonies are included in the term *umdudo*, a word derived from the verb *uku duda*, which means to dance by springing up and down, as *uku xentsa* means to dance by moving the upper parts of the body. The dance at a marriage is considered of more importance than any of the others, and is therefore frequently practised until skill in its performance is attained.

The marriage of a young woman is arranged by her father or guardian, and she is not legally supposed to be consulted in the

choice of a husband. In point of fact, however, matches arising from mutual love are not uncommon. In such cases, if any difficulties are raised by the guardians on either side, the young people do not scruple to run away together, after which their relatives usually come to an arrangement. Yet instances are not wanting of girls being compelled against their wishes to marry old men, who have already perhaps five or six wives. In practice the umdudo is often deferred to a convenient season, but the woman is considered not less a wife, and her children not less legal, providing always that the transfer of cattle has taken place according to agreement.

Marriage proposals may come from the father or guardian of the young woman, or they may first be made by the man himself or the relatives of the man who wishes to take a wife. The father of a young man frequently selects a bride for him, and intimates his wish by sending a messenger to make proposals to the girl's father or guardian. In this case the messenger takes some cattle with him, when, if the advances are favourably received, an assagai is sent back, after which the relatives of the young people discuss and finally arrange the terms of the marriage. If the proposal comes from the girl's father, he sends an assagai, which is accepted if the suit is agreeable, or returned if it is not.

When the preliminary arrangements are concluded, unless, as sometimes happens, it is considered expedient to permit the marriage at once to take place, but to postpone the festivities to a more convenient season, a bridal procession is formed at the young woman's kraal, to escort her to her future home. It consists of her relatives and all the young people of both sexes who can get away. It leaves at such a time as to arrive at its destination after dark, and tries to reach the place without attracting notice. The bridal party takes with it a cow, given by the bride's father or guardian to confer fortune upon her, and hence called the *inqakwe*. This cow is afterwards well taken care of by the husband. The party has also an ox provided by the same person, as his contribution towards the marriage feast. On the following morning at daylight the ox is killed, when a portion

of the meat is taken by the bride's party, and the remainder is left for the people of the kraal. The bridegroom's friends then send messengers to invite the people of the neighbourhood to the feast, and as soon as these arrive the dancing commences.

In the dance the men stand in lines three, four, or more rows in depth, according to their number, and at a little distance behind the women stand in the same order. The men stand with their heads erect and their arms locked together. They are nearly naked, but wear ornaments of brass around their waists. The trappings of the war dance are altogether wanting. The women are, however, in full dress, for their part consists only in singing. When all are ready, a man who has been selected for the purpose commences to sing, the others immediately join in, and at a certain note the whole of the men rise together from the ground. The dance consists merely in springing straight up and coming down with a quivering of the body; but when the men warm to it, it gives them great satisfaction. The song is very monotonous, the same note occurring at every rise from the ground. This dancing, with intervals of rest and feasting, continues as long as the bridegroom's relatives supply oxen for slaughter. A day suffices for a poor man, but a rich man's marriage festivities may last a week or upwards.

On the closing day the bridegroom and his friends march from one hut, while the bride and her party march from another, so as to meet in front of the entrance to the cattle kraal. The bride carries an assagai in her hand, which she throws so as to stick in the ground inside the kraal in an upright position. This is the last of the ceremonies, and the guests immediately begin to disperse, each man taking home the milk-sack which he had brought with him. In olden times ox-racing usually took place on the closing day, but this custom has of late years fallen into neglect.

There were different restrictions with regard to the females whom a man was at liberty to marry. No man of any coast tribe would marry a girl whose relationship by blood to himself on his father's side could be traced, no matter how distantly connected they might be. So scrupulous was he in this respect that he would not even marry a girl who belonged to another tribe, if

she had the same family name as himself, though the relationship could not be traced. A man, for instance, whose family title was the Amanywabe, might belong to the Dushane clan of the Xosa tribe. Among the Tembus, the Pondos, the Zulus, and many other distinct communities, are people with this same family title. They cannot trace any relationship with each other, but wherever they are found they have ceremonies peculiar to themselves. Thus the customs observed at the birth of a child are exactly the same in every part of the country among people of the same family title, though they may never have heard of each other, while neighbours of the same clan, but of different family titles, have these customs altogether dissimilar. This indicates that the tribes and clans of the present day are combinations of others that were dispersed before their traditional history commenced. No marriage between the Amanywabe is permissible.

In somes tribes, as at present in the Pondos, Tembus, and Xosas, the same rule was applied to relatives by blood on the mother's side also. Children take the family title of the father, and can thus marry those of the same family title as the mother, provided their blood relationship cannot be traced. Every man of a coast tribe regarded himself as the protector of those females whom we would call his cousins, second cousins, third cousins, and so forth, on the father's side, while some had a similar feeling towards the same relatives on the mother's side as well, and classified them all as sisters. Immorality with one of them would have been considered incestuous, something horrible, something unutterably disgraceful. Of old it was punished by the death of the male, and even now a heavy fine is inflicted upon him, while the guilt of the female must be atoned by a sacrifice performed with due ceremony by the tribal priest, or it is believed a curse will rest upon her and her issue.

Of late years this feeling has become less operative than formerly among those Bantu of the coast belt who have long been in contact with Europeans, still immorality between persons related to each other as above described is extremely rare. It is still more so among those who have learned little or nothing

from white men. Shortly after the annexation of Pondoland to the Cape Colony the principal chief of the western division of that territory instituted an inquiry into one such case, which he reported to a magistrate, and wished the usual punishment to be inflicted. The common ancestor was found on investigation to be seven generations back, still in public opinion the crime was enormous.

In contrast to this prohibition the man of the interior almost as a rule married the daughter of his father's brother, in order, as he said, to keep property from being lost to his family. This custom more than anything else created a disgust and contempt for them by the people of the coast, who term such intermarriages the union of dogs, and attribute to them the insanity and idiocy which in recent times has become prevalent among the inland tribes.*

With the Ovaherero and their near kindred marriage was a much looser union than among other Bantu, for it could be more easily dissolved by either party. There was practically very little property at stake in the matter. Custom required that when a woman went to live with a man he should transfer to her father or guardian a large ox, a heifer, a large fat sheep, a ewe with a lamb, and a young ewe, but the most valuable of these animals were at once strangled and eaten at the feast which was the only ceremony attending the alliance. A rich man or a man of rank gave no more than a poor one.

In no section of the Bantu was there any restriction in regard to marrying a wife's blood relatives. Thus a man might marry two sisters, though not at the same time, and of course two brothers might marry two sisters. Sometimes

*Among the tribes within the Cape Colony at the present time the differences are as follows:—

Xosas, Tembus, and Pondos: marry no relative by blood, however distant, on either father's or mother's side.

Hlubis and others commonly called Fingos: may marry the daughter of mother's brother and other relatives on that side, but not on father's side.

Basuto, Batlaro, Batlapin, and Barolong: very frequently marry cousins on father's side, and know of no restrictions beyond actual sisters.

it happened that a man and his wife could not agree and that he could bring some substantial charge against her, when, if she had a young unmarried sister, an arrangement was usually made by which she returned to her parents and her sister took her place, on the husband's making a small addition to the cattle that had been transferred on the first occasion.

This was also the case when, as sometimes happened, a woman was childless. Such a person finds little favour in Bantu society, so that on becoming a mother a wife who has been married some time may say from the bottom of her heart, with Elizabeth of old, that "her reproach is taken away from among men." A childless woman is usually exchanged for a marriageable sister, but the husband is required first to perform a ceremony which can be illustrated by a case tried before the writer when acting as a border magistrate in 1881. A sued B to recover the value of a heifer supplied to him two years before under these circumstances. B's wife, who was distantly related to A, had been married more than a year without bearing a child. B thereupon applied to him for a heifer, the hair of the tail of which was needed by the doctor of the clan to make a charm to put round the woman's neck. He had supplied one for the purpose, and now wanted payment for it. The defence was that A, being the woman's nearest relative who had cattle, was bound to furnish a heifer for the purpose. The hair of the tail was needed, the doctor had made a charm of it and hung it round the woman's neck, and she had thereafter given birth to a son. The heifer could not be returned after being so used. In this case, if the plaintiff had been so nearly related to defendant's wife as to have participated in the benefit of the cattle given by her husband for her, he could not have justified his claim under Bantu law; but as he was very distantly connected, he got judgment. The feeling entertained by the spectators in court in this instance was that B had acted very ungratefully towards A, who had not even been present at the woman's marriage feast, but who had cheerfully acted in conformity with the custom which requires that a charm must be made out of the hair of the tail

of a heifer belonging to a relative of a childless wife, in order to cause her to bear children.

Far the greater number of lawsuits among the Bantu arose from their marriage customs. The cattle to be transferred to the family of a woman were seldom or never fully paid until long after the union, and in the meantime if the husband died disputes were almost sure to arise as to what family the widow and her children belonged, whether she had a right to return to her parents, if so whether she could take any of her offspring with her, and so on. The nearest relative of the deceased man had it in his power to settle the matter at once by paying the cattle still due, but he did not always follow that course. If there were any daughters, an arrangement was possible that of the cattle to be received for them when they should marry the number due on account of the mother should be paid. But even in this case disputes were sure to arise. One party would fix the number very differently from the other, and then the case would have to be tried, when every little particular from first to last was entered into, and much patience was needed before a decision could be arrived at. Sometimes these cases depended upon the payment or non-payment of cattle three generations back, for in Bantu opinion if a grandmother had not been fully incorporated into the family of her husband, that is if the full number of cattle had not been transferred for her, the position of her descendants was doubtful, two distinct families having claims upon them. In their expressive way of speaking, such cases did not die.

Chastity in married life was exceedingly rare among the coast tribes. By custom every wife of a polygamist had a lover, and no woman sank in the esteem of her companions on this becoming publicly known. The law allowed the husband a fine from the male offender, and permitted him to chastise the woman, provided he did not maim her; but in the opinion of the females the offence was venial and was not attended with disgrace. Favoured guests had female companions—who were, however, generally widows—allotted to them. Still, chastity had a value in the estimation of the men, as was proved by the care with which the harems of a few of the most powerful chiefs were guarded. It

might be thought that the framework of society would fall to pieces if domestic life were more immoral than this, but in point of fact a kraal on the coast was a scene of purity when compared with one in some parts of the interior.

There it was a common occurrence for a chief to secure the services and adherence of a young man by the loan of one of his inferior wives either temporarily or permanently. In either case the children belonged to the chief, who was regarded by the law as their father. Another revolting custom among them was that of polyandrous marriages. A man who had not the requisite number of cattle to procure a wife, and whose father was too poor to help him, obtained assistance from a wealthy individual on condition of having joint marital rights.

In some of the tribes women were obliged to invent for many purposes different words from those used by every one around them, and it sometimes happened that these newly formed words supplanted the old ones. This arose from a custom which prohibited females from pronouncing the names of any of their husband's male relatives in the ascending line, or any words whatever in which the principal syllables of such names occurred. If a traveller came to a kraal and happened to ask a woman who was its headman, if that individual was her husband's father or uncle or elder brother she could not reply, but was obliged to call someone else to give the required information. The violation of this custom was considered as showing a want of respect for connections by marriage. Women avoided meeting their husband's male relatives in the ascending line, whenever it was possible to do so, and never sat down in their presence.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CHAPTER VI.

SPECIMENS OF BANTU FOLKLORE.

AMONG a people without knowledge of letters historical legends and traditional tales occupy the same place as books with Europeans, and thus form perfect guides as to their powers of expression and thought. It will be necessary in succeeding volumes to relate the history of many tribes, as preserved by their antiquaries, so that examples of this portion of what may be termed Bantu literature need not be given here; but a few specimens of folklore tales will not be regarded as out of place. Readers must bear in mind that full grown men and women who have never been under European influence really believe many of the actors in these tales to have had an existence, so that they are not merely stories to amuse children.

THE STORY OF TANGALIMLIBO.

There was once a man who had two wives, one of whom had no children. She grieved much about that, till one day a bird came to her and gave her some little pellets. The bird said she must eat of these always before she partook of food, and then she would bear a child. She was very glad, and offered the bird some millet. But the bird said: "No, I do not want millet." The woman then offered an *isidanga* (an ornamental breast-band which women wear), but the bird said it had no use for that. Then she got some very fine gravel and placed before the bird, which it received at her hands.

After this the woman had a daughter. Her husband knew nothing of what had happened, because he never went to her house. He did not love her at all, for the reason that she bore no children. So she said: "I will keep my daughter in the house till my husband comes; he will surely love me when he sees that I have such a beautiful child." The name given to the girl was Tangalimlibo.

The man went always to the house of the other wife, and so it happened that Tangalimlibo was grown to be a young woman when her father first saw her. He was very much pleased, and said: "My dear wife, you should have told me of this before."

The girl had never been out of the house in the daytime. Only in the night she had gone out, when people could not see her.

The man said to his wife: "You must make much beer, and invite many people to come and rejoice with me over this that has happened." The woman did so. There was a big tree in front of the kraal, and the mats were spread under it. It was a fine sunny day, and very many men came. Among them was the son of a certain chief, who fell in love with Tangalimlibo as soon as he saw her. When the young chief went home he sent a message to the father of the girl that he must send her to him to be married. The man told all his friends about that. He told them also to be ready at a certain time to conduct his daughter to the chief. So they came and took her, and the marriage feast was very great. The oxen were many which were killed that day. Tangalimlibo had a large and beautiful ox given to her by her father. It was called by her name. She took off a piece of her clothing and gave it to the ox, which ate it.

After she had been married some time, this woman had a son. She was loved very much by her husband, because she was pretty and industrious; only this thing was observed of her, that she never went out in the daytime. Therefore she received the name Sihamba Ngenyanga (the walker by moonlight).

One day her husband went to a distant place to hunt with other men. There were left at his home with this woman only her father-in-law, her mother-in-law, and a girl who nursed the little child. The father-in-law said: "Why does she not work during the day?" He pretended to become thirsty, and sent the girl to Tangalimlibo to ask for water, saying: "I die with thirst." The woman sent water to her father-in-law, but he threw it on the ground, saying: "It is water from the river I desire." She said: "I never go to the river in the daytime." He continued to ask, saying again: "I die with thirst." Then she took a milk-basket and a calabash ladle, and went weeping to the river. She dipped the ladle in the water, and it was drawn out of her hand. She dipped the milk-basket in the water, and it was drawn away from her. Then she tried to take some water in her mantle, and she was drawn under the surface.

After a little time the girl was sent to look for her, but she came back, saying: "I found her not who is accustomed to draw water only in the night."

Her father-in-law drove oxen quickly to the river. He took the big ox that was called by her name and killed it. He put all the flesh and everything else that was of that ox into the river, saying: "Let this be instead of my child." A voice was heard saying: "Go to my father and my mother and say to them that I am taken by the river."

That evening the little child of Tangalimlibo was crying very bitterly. Its father was not yet home. Its grandmother tried by every means to keep it from crying, but in vain. Then she gave it to the nurse, who fastened it on her back. Still the child continued to cry. In the middle of the night the nurse went down to the river with the child, singing this song:

> "It is crying, it is crying,
> The child of Sihamba Ngenyanga;
> It is crying, it will not be pacified."

Then the mother of the child came out of the river, and wailed this song:

"It is crying, it is crying, Sihamba Ngenyanga,
The child of the walker by moonlight. Sihamba Ngenyanga.
It was done intentionally by people whose names are unmentionable. Sihamba Ngenyanga.
They sent her for water during the day. Sihamba Ngenyanga.
She tried to dip with the milk-basket, and then it sank. Sihamba Ngenyanga.
Tried to dip with the ladle, and then it sank. Sihamba Ngenyanga.
Tried to dip with the mantle, and then it sank. Sihamba Ngenyanga."

Then she took her child and put it to her breast to suck. When the child had finished sucking, she gave it back to the nurse, telling her to take it home. She commanded the nurse never to say to any one that she came out of the water, and told her that when people asked where the child got food she must say she gave it berries to eat. This continued for some days. Every night the nurse took the child to the river, when its mother came out and suckled it. She always looked round to see that no one was present, and always put the same command on the girl.

After a time the father of the child returned from hunting. They told him of Tangalimlibo's going to the river and not returning. Then the nurse brought the child to him. He inquired what it ate, and was told that berries were given to it. He said: "That cannot be so; go and get some berries, and let me see my child eat them." The girl went and brought some berries, but they were not eaten by the child. Then the father of the child beat the girl until she told him the truth. She said she went at night to the river, when the mother came out and caressed her child and gave it of her milk.

Then they made a plan that the husband of Tangalimlibo should hide himself in the reeds and try to catch his wife when she came out of the water. He took the skin of an ox and cut it into a long riem, one end of which he fastened round his waist. The other end he gave to the men of that place, telling them to hold it fast and to pull hard when they felt it being drawn from them. At night the man hid himself in the reeds. Tangalimlibo came out of the water

and looked all round while she was singing her song. She asked the girl if any one was there, and when the girl replied that there was no one she took her child. Then her husband sprang upon her, clasping her very tight. She tried to pull back, but the men at the village drew upon the riem. She was drawn away, but the river followed her, and its water turned into blood. When it came close to the village, the men who were pulling at the riem saw it, and became frightened. They let the riem go, when the river at once went back, taking Tangalimlibo with it.

After that her husband was told of the voice which came from the water, saying: "Go to my father and my mother and tell them I am taken by the river." He called his racing ox, and said: "Will you, my ox, take this message to the father and mother of Tangalimlibo?" The ox only bellowed. He called his dog, and said: "Will you, my dog, take this message to the father and mother of Tangalimlibo?" The dog only barked.

Last of all he called the cock. He said: "Will you, my cock, take this message to the father and mother of Tangalimlibo?" The cock answered: "I will do so, my master." He said: "Let me hear what you will say." The cock answered: "I will sing

"I am a cock that ought not to be killed—Cock-a-doodle-doo!
I have come to intimate about Tangalimlibo—Cock-a-doodle-doo!
Tangalimlibo is dead—Cock-a-doodle-doo!
She dipped water for a person that cannot be named—Cock-a-doodle-doo!
It was tried to send an ox; it bellowed—Cock-a-doodle-doo!
It was tried to send a dog; it barked—Cock-a-doodle-doo!"

The chief said: "That is good, my cock, go now." As the cock was going on his way, some boys who were tending calves saw him. One of them said to the others: "Come here, come here, boys; there is a cock for us to kill." Then the cock stood up, and sang his song. The boys said: "Sing again, we did not hear you plainly." So he sang again: "I am a cock" &c. (as above). Then the boys let him go on his way.

He travelled far from that place, and came to a village where the men were sitting in the kraal. He flew up on the back of the kraal to rest himself, and the men saw him. They said: "Where does this cock come from? We thought all the cocks here were killed. Make haste, boys, and kill him." The cock began to sing his song. Then the men said: "Wait, boys, we wish to hear what he says." They said to him: "Begin again, we did not hear you." The cock said: "Give me some food, for I am very hungry." The men sent a boy for some millet, and gave it to him. When he had eaten, he sang his song. The men said: "Let him go," and he went on his way.

Then he came to the village of the father of Tangalimlibo, to the house of those he was seeking. He told the message he was sent to carry. The mother of Tangalimlibo was a woman skilful in the use of medicines. She said to her husband: "Get a fat ox to go with us." They arrived at the river, and killed the ox. Then that woman worked with her medicines while they put the meat in the water. There was a great shaking and a rising up of the river, and Tangalimlibo came out. There was great joy among those people when they took her home to her husband.

THE RUNAWAY CHILDREN, OR THE WONDERFUL FEATHER.

Once in a time of famine a woman left her home and went to live in a distant village, where she became a cannibal. She had one son, whose name was Magoda. She ate all the people in that village, until only herself and Magoda remained. Then she was compelled to hunt animals, but she caught people still when she could. In hunting she learned to be very swift of foot, and could run so fast that nothing she pursued could escape from her.

Her brother, who remained at home when she left, had two daughters, whom he did not treat very kindly. One day he sent them to the river for water, which they were

to carry in two pots. These pots were made of clay, and were the nicest and most valuable in the village. One of the girls fell down on a rock and broke the pot she was carrying. Then she did not know what to do, because she was afraid to go back to her father. She sat down and cried, but that did not help, the pot would not be whole again. Then she said to her sister: "Let us go away to another place, where our father will not be able to find us." She was the younger and the cleverer of the two, and so she persuaded her sister.

They walked away in the opposite direction from their home, and for two days had nothing but gum to eat. Then they saw a fire at a distance, and went to it, where they saw a house. It was the house of their aunt, but they did not know it. They were afraid to go in, but Magoda came out and talked to them. When he heard who they were, he was sorry for them, and told them their aunt was a cannibal, giving them advice not to stay there. But just then they heard her coming, so they went into Magoda's house and hid themselves, for he lived in one house and his mother in another.

The woman came and said: "I smell something nice; what is it, my son?" Magoda said there was nothing. She replied: "Surely I smell fat children." But as she did not go in, they remained concealed that night.

The next morning the mother of Magoda went out to hunt, but she did not go far, so the children could not get away. They went into her house, where they saw a person with only one arm, one side, and one leg. The person said to them: "See, the cannibal has eaten the rest of me; take care of yourselves."

When it was nearly dark, the mother of Magoda came home again, bringing some animals which she had killed. She smelt that children had been in the house, so she went to her son's house and looked in. She said to Magoda: "Why do you not give me some? Do I not catch animals for you?"

Then she saw the children, and was very glad. She took them to her house, and told them to sleep. They laid down, but were too frightened to close their eyes. They heard their aunt say: "Axe, be sharp; axe, be sharp;" and to let her know that they were awake, they spoke of vermin biting them. After a while the cannibal went to sleep, when they crept out, first putting two blocks of wood in their places, and ran away as fast as they could. When the mother of Magoda awoke, she took the axe and went to kill them, but the axe fell on the blocks of wood.

As soon as it was day, the cannibal pursued the children. They looked behind, and saw clouds of dust which she made as she ran. There was a tall tree just in front of them, so they hastened to climb up it, and sat down among the branches. The mother of Magoda came to the tree and commenced to cut it down; but when a chip fell out, a bird (ntengu) sang:

"Ntengu, ntengu,
Chips, return to your places,
Chips, return to your places,
Chips, be fast."

The chip then went back to its place and was fast again. This happened three times; but the mother of Magoda, who was very angry, caught the bird and swallowed it. When she put it in her mouth, one of the feathers dropped to the ground. Then she began to chop at the tree again; but as soon as a chip was loose the feather sang:

"Ntengu, ntengu,
Chips, return to your places,
Chips, return to your places,
Chips, be fast."

The chip then stuck fast again. The cannibal chopped till she was tired, but the feather continued to keep the tree from receiving harm. Then she tried to catch the feather, but it flew about too quickly for her, until she

sank down exhausted on the ground at the foot of the tree. The children up in the branches could see a long way off; and as they strained their eyes, they observed three dogs as big as calves, and they knew these dogs belonged to their father, who was seeking for them. So they called them by name, and the dogs came running to the tree and ate up the cannibal, who was too tired to make her escape. Thus the children were delivered, and their father was so glad to get them back again that he forgave them for breaking the pot and running away.

THE STORY OF KENKEBE.

There was once a great famine in a certain country, and the people were obliged to eat wild plants to keep themselves alive. Their principal food during this time was nongwes (*Hypoxis*), which they dug out of the ground. There was living at that place a man called Kenkebe, and one day his wife said to him: "My husband, go to my father and ask him to give us some corn." The man said: "Yes, I will go." So he rose up early in the morning, and went on till he arrived at his father-in-law's village, where he was received with every mark of kindness. A very large ox was killed for his entertainment. It was so large that it was six days before it was all eaten.

His father-in-law asked of him the news. He said: "There is no news to tell to friends. All the news is this, that at my home there is not a grain to be eaten. Famine is over our heads. Will you give us some corn, for we are dying?" His father-in-law gave him seven bags (*i.e.*, skins of animals dressed entire) full of millet, and his wife's sisters went with him to carry them. When they came to a valley close by his home, he told his sisters-in-law that they could now go back to their father. They said: "How will you manage to carry all those bags alone?" He replied: "I shall be able to carry them all now, because we are not far from my home." So those girls went back to their father.

Then he carried the bags one by one, and hid them in a cave under a great rock that was there. Afterwards he took some of the millet and ground it. When it was ground very fine he made it into cakes just like nongwes. Then he dug some real nongwes out of the ground, and went home to his wife. He said to her: "There is a great famine at your father's also. I found the people there eating themselves." He told his wife to make a fire. Then he pretended to cut a piece of meat out of his thigh, and said: "So they are doing at your father's village. Now, my wife, let us do the same." His wife cut a piece from her leg and roasted it. The piece that Kenkebe put on the fire was some that he brought home with him. Then Kenkebe's little boy said: "Why does my father's meat smell nice in roasting, and my mother's meat does not smell nice?" Kenkebe answered: "It is because it is taken from the leg of a man."

After this he gave his wife some nongwes to roast. He took for himself some of those he had made of millet. The little boy said: "Why do my father's nongwes smell nice in roasting, and my mother's do not smell nice?" Kenkebe said: "It is because they were dug by a man." After eating, he went outside, but he had dropped one of his nongwes by the fire. When he went out the boy found that nongwe. He broke it in two and gave half to his mother. He said: "There is a difference between our nongwes and those of father." His mother said: "Yes, my child, this one is made of millet."

The next morning, just at the first beginning of dawn, Kenkebe got up and went away with a pot in his hand. The boy was awake, and saw his father go out. So he called to his mother, and said: "Mother, mother, wake, my father is going away with the pot in his hand." So she got up, and they followed after Kenkebe. They saw him go to the cave, where he took some corn out of one of the bags and began to grind it. Then they went on top of the rock, and rolled a big stone over.

When Kenkebe saw the stone coming he ran away, but it followed close behind him. He ran down the valley, the stone kept running too. He jumped into a deep hole in the river, down went the stone too. He ran up the hill, up went the stone also. He ran over the plain, but whenever he turned to look, the stone was there just behind him. So it continued all that day. At night he reached his own house, and then the stone stopped.

His wife had already come home, and had brought with her one of the bags of millet. Kenkebe came in crying. His wife said to him: "Why do you cry as if you were a child?" He said: "Because I am very tired and very hungry." She said: "Where are your clothes and your bag?" He replied: "I was crossing a river, and I fell down. The stream carried away my mantle, and my bag, and my keries, and everything that was mine." Then his wife gave him his mantle, which she had picked up when he was running away, and she said to him: "You are a very foolish man to do such things. There is no food for you to-night."

The next morning Kenkebe rose early and went out to hunt with his two dogs. The name of the one was Tumtumse, and the name of the other was Mbambozozele. He found an eland with a young calf, which he drove to his place. He cut an ear off the calf and roasted it in the fire. It was fat, and he liked it so much that he cut the other ear off and cooked it also. Then he wished to kill the calf, but he said to himself: "If I kill this calf I shall not be able to get milk from this eland." So he called his two dogs, and said to the one: "Tumtumse, my dog, if I kill this calf, will you imitate it and suck the eland for me?" The dog said: "No, I will bark like a dog." Kenkebe said: "Get out of my sight and never come near me again, you ugly, useless animal." He said to the other: "Mbambozozele, my dog, if I kill this calf, will you imitate it and suck the eland for me?" The dog said: "I will do so."

Then he killed the calf and ate it. He took the skin and put it upon Mbambozozele, so that the eland thought it was her calf that sucked before Kenkebe milked her. But one day the dog was sucking too long, and Kenkebe wanted him to leave off. He tried to drink just a few drops more, when his master got angry and struck him with a stick. Thereupon the dog began to howl, and the eland saw how she had been deceived. At once she ran after Kenkebe and tried to stick him with her horns. He ran one way and the eland ran after him, then he ran another way, and still the eland chased him. His wife came out and saw him running. She cried out to him: "Jump up quickly on the big stone." He did so, and the eland ran with such fury against that stone that it broke its head and fell down dead.

They then cut the eland up and wanted to cook it, but there was no fire. Kenkebe said to his son: "Go to the village of the cannibals that is on that hill over the valley, and ask for some fire; but do not take any meat with you, lest they should smell it." The boy went, but he hid a piece of meat and took it with him. When he got to the first house he asked for fire, but they sent him to the next. At the next they sent him farther, and so he had to go to the house that was farthest away. An old woman lived there. The boy gave her a little piece of meat, and said: "Do not cook it till I am far away with the fire."

But as soon as the boy was gone, she put it on the coals. The smell came to the noses of the cannibals, and they ran to the place and swallowed the old woman, and the meat, and the fire, and even the ashes. Then they ran after the boy. When he came near his own house, he cried out: "Hide yourselves, you that are at home." His father said: "My son is saying we must gather wood that will make coals." His mother said: "No, he is saying we must hide ourselves." The boy cried again: "Hide yourselves." Then his mother hid herself in a bush; an old woman that was there covered herself with ashes, and Kenkebe climbed up into a

tree, with the breast of the eland in his hand. The boy slipped into a hole that was by the side of the path.

The cannibals came to the place. First they ate the eland. Then one of them said: "Search under the ashes." There they found the old woman, and they ate her. Then they said: "Search in the tree." There they found Kenkebe. He cried very much, but they would not spare him. They ate him and the breast of the eland. Then the wise one said: "Look in the bush." They looked there and found the wife of Kenkebe. They said: "We will eat her another time," and so they took her home with them. They did not look for the boy.

The woman made a plan to escape. She made beer for the cannibals, and they all came to drink. They sat together in a big house, and drank very much beer. Then she said: "Can I go out?" They said: "You can go, but come back quickly." She said: "Shall I close the entrance?" They said: "Close it." Then she took fire and put it on the house, and all those cannibals were burnt to death. So the woman escaped, and afterwards lived happily with her son.

STORY OF THE GREAT CHIEF OF THE ANIMALS.

There was once a woman who had occasion to leave her home for a short time, and who left her children in charge of a hare. The place where they lived was close to a path, along which droves of wild animals were accustomed to pass. Soon after the woman left, the animals appeared, and the hare at sight of them became frightened. So she ran away to a distance, and stood to watch. Among the animals was one terrible monster, which called to the hare, and demanded to know what children these were. The hare told their names, upon which the animal swallowed them entire.

When the woman returned, the hare told her what had happened. Then the woman gathered some dry wood, and sharpened two pieces of iron, which she took with her and went along the path.

Now this was the chief of the animals; therefore when she came on a hill over against him, the woman began to call out that she was looking for her children. The animal replied: "Come nearer, I cannot hear you." When she went, he swallowed her also. The woman found her children alive, and also many other people, and oxen, and dogs. The children were hungry, so the woman with her pieces of iron cut some flesh from the animal's ribs. She then made a fire and cooked the meat, and the children ate. The other people said: "We also are hungry, give us to eat." Then she cut and cooked for them also.

The animal felt uncomfortable under this treatment, and called his counsellors together for advice, but they could suggest no remedy. He lay down and rolled in the mud, but that did not help him, and at last he went and put his head in the kraal fence, and died. His counsellors were standing at a distance, afraid to approach him, so they sent a monkey to see how he was. The monkey returned and said: "Those whose home is on the mountains must hasten to the mountains; those whose home is on the plains must hasten to the plains; as for me, I go to the rocks." Then all the animals dispersed.

By this time the woman had succeeded in cutting a hole through the chief's side, and came forth, followed by her children. Then an ox came out, and said: "Bo! bo!* who helped me?" Then a dog, who said: "Ho! ho!* who helped me?" Then a man, who said: "Zo! zo!* who helped me?" Afterwards all the people and cattle came out. They agreed that the woman who helped them should be their chief.

When her children became men, they were out hunting one day, and saw a monstrous cannibal, who was sticking fast in a mud hole. They killed him, and then returned to tell the men of their village what they had done. The men went and skinned the cannibal, when a great number of people came out of him also. These joined their deliverers, and so that people became a great nation.

* Imitating the voice of an ox, a dog, and a man coughing.

THE STORY OF DEMANE AND DEMAZANA.

Once upon a time a brother and sister, who were twins and orphans, were obliged on account of ill usage to run away from their relatives. The boy's name was Demane, the girl's Demazana. They went to live in a cave that had two holes to let in air and light, the entrance to which was protected by a very strong door, with a fastening inside. Demane went out hunting by day, and told his sister that she was not to roast any meat while he was absent, lest the cannibals should discover their retreat by the smell. The girl would have been quite safe if she had done as her brother commanded. But she was wayward, and one day she took some buffalo meat and put it on a fire to roast.

A cannibal smelt the flesh cooking, and went to the cave, but found the door fastened. So he tried to imitate Demane's voice, and asked to be admitted, singing this song:

> "Demazana, Demazana,
> Child of my mother,
> Open this cave to me.
> The swallows can enter it.
> It has two apertures."

Demazana said: "No. You are not my brother; your voice is not like his." The cannibal went away, but after a little time came back again, and spoke in another tone of voice: "Do let me in, my sister." The girl answered: "Go away, you cannibal; your voice is hoarse, you are not my brother."

So he went away and consulted with another cannibal. He said: "What must I do to obtain my desire?" He was afraid to tell what his desire was, lest the other cannibal should want a share of the girl. His friend said: "You must burn your throat with hot iron." He did so, and then no longer spoke hoarse. Again he presented himself before the door of the cave, and sang:

"Demazana, Demazana,
Child of my mother,
Open this cave to me.
The swallows can enter it.
It has two apertures."

The girl was deceived. She believed him to be her brother come back from hunting, so she opened the door. The cannibal went in and seized her. As she was being carried away, she dropped some ashes here and there along the path. Soon after this, Demane, who had taken nothing that day but a swarm of bees, returned and found his sister gone. He guessed what had happened, and followed the path by means of the ashes until he came to Zim's dwelling. The cannibal's family were out gathering firewood, but he was at home, and had just put Demazana in a big bag, where he intended to keep her until the fire was made.

Demane said: "Give me water to drink, father." Zim replied: "I will, if you will promise not to touch my bag." Demane promised. Then Zim went to get some water; and while he was away, Demane took his sister out of the bag, and put the bees in it, after which they both concealed themselves.

When Zim came with the water, his wife and son and daughter came also with firewood. He said to his daughter: "There is something nice in the bag; go and bring it." She went, but the bees stung her hand, and she called out: "It is biting." He sent his son, and afterwards his wife, but the result was the same. Then he became angry, and drove them outside, and having put a block of wood in the doorway, he opened the bag himself. The bees swarmed out and stung his head, particularly his eyes, so that he could not see. There was a little hole in the thatch, and through this he forced his way. He jumped about, howling with pain. Then he ran and fell headlong into a pond, where his head stuck fast in the mud, and he became a block of wood like the stump of a tree. The bees made their home in the stump, but no one could get their honey, because when any one tried his hand stuck fast.

Demane and Demazana then took all Zim's possessions which were very great, and they became wealthy people.

STORY OF THE GIRL AND THE MBULU.

There was once a widow woman who had one son and two daughters. On a certain day she went to her garden, taking with her one of the girls. While she was away the boy quarrelled with his sister and killed her. In the course of the day the woman sent the girl who was with her to the hut, and when she came there a fly told her what had happened. She did not believe it. Then a mouse told her the same thing, but still she did not believe it was true. Afterwards the fly told her to look in a certain place, and there she saw the head and the bones of her sister.

When the woman came home and found out what had happened, she killed her son. Then she gave the girl a stick, and told her to go to her uncle's house, saying that when she got there she must strike the ground with the stick, and all the clothes and other things that belonged to her would then rise up out of the earth. The woman said she was now all alone, and therefore intended to kill herself.

The girl was very sorry, but she did as her mother told her. When she was a little way off she looked back and saw smoke coming out of the hut, from which she knew that her mother had burned herself and was no longer a person under the sun. After this she met an old woman, who called to her, but she took no heed and walked on. Next she met a mbulu (a fabulous animal capable of assuming the human form but retaining its tail) at a place close by a river. The mbulu said that whoever wetted any part of the body in crossing the river must go in and bathe. The girl was standing on the bank, and the mbulu struck the water with its tail and splashed it in her face, so that she had to go in and bathe. Then the mbulu took her clothes and put them on. When the girl came out of

the water she asked for her clothes, but the mbulu said: "I will give them when you are dry."

So they went on together. After a while the girl asked again, and the mbulu said: "I will give them when we get to the village." But when they arrived there the mbulu said: "You must tell the people here that you are my servant, and that I am the daughter of a chief." The poor girl was so afraid that she promised to do so. They were well received at the village, because the people believed that the mbulu was a great person. They wondered at her voice, but she told them she had been ill and her throat was not well yet.

After a time one of the men of that kraal married the mbulu, and the real girl was sent to the gardens to drive the birds away from the millet. While engaged in this occupation she used to sing about the mbulu taking her clothes and passing itself off for a person, until the women who worked in the gardens took notice of this song of hers. Then they made a plan to find out if what the girl was singing was the truth. They said: "The tail of a mbulu will want mice and fat," so they set snares to catch the mice. In the night the tail was pursuing mice, and itself got fast in a snare. The mbulu then asked the man who was married to her to go and get some medicine, as she was sick, and when the man went she took off the snare.

After this they made another plan. They said: "The tail of a mbulu will seek milk," so they dug a hole in the ground, put milk in it, and required every one in the village to jump over the hole. The mbulu was unwilling at first, but they urged her. She tried to jump quickly, but the tail could not pass the milk. When it went down the people saw that this was a mbulu, so they killed it and buried it in that hole.

After this the same man who had married the mbulu took the girl to be his wife. She had a child, and one day when it was playing a square gourd came out of the ground where the mbulu was buried, and tried to kill the

infant. But the people chopped the gourd in pieces, and burned it. They afterwards threw the ashes into a river, so that nothing more could come of that mbulu.

[The foregoing tales were collected among Xosas and Tembus, and were revised for the author of this volume by several ancient dames. With but slight variations they are known to all the Bantu tribes as far north as Lake Nyassa. The following is said by several correspondents not to be known in the interior, though it is one of those most commonly told by the Xosas, who have probably adopted it from the Hottentot females whose blood was mingled with that of their Bantu ancestors. It will be observed that none of the actors in it are human beings.]

STORY OF THE HARE.

Once upon a time the animals made a kraal and put some fat in it. They agreed that one of their number should remain to be the keeper of the gate. The first one that was appointed was the coney (*imbila*). He agreed to take charge, and all the others went away. In a short time the coney fell asleep, when the inkalimeva (a fabulous animal) went in and ate all the fat. After doing this, he threw a little stone at the coney. The coney started up and cried out: "The fat belonging to all the animals has been eaten by the inkalimeva." It repeated this cry several times, calling out very loudly. The animals at a distance heard it, they ran to the kraal, and when they saw that the fat was gone they killed the coney.

They put fat in the kraal a second time, and appointed the muishond (*iqaqa*) to keep the gate. The muishond consented, and the animals went away as before. After a little time the inkalimeva came to the kraal, bringing some honey with it. It invited the keeper of the gate to eat honey, and while the muishond was enjoying himself the inkalimeva went in and stole all the fat. It threw a stone at the muishond, which made him look up. The muishond cried out: "The fat belonging to all the animals has been eaten by the inkalimeva." As soon as

the animals heard the cry, they ran to the kraal and killed the muishond.

They put fat in the kraal a third time, and appointed the duiker (*impunzi*) to be the keeper of the gate. The duiker agreed, and the others went away. In a short time the inkalimeva made its appearance. It proposed to the duiker that they should play at hide and seek. The duiker agreed to this. Then the inkalimeva hid itself, and the duiker looked for it till he was so tired that he lay down and went to sleep. When the duiker was asleep, the inkalimeva ate up all the fat. Then it threw a stone at the duiker, which caused him to jump up and cry out: "The fat belonging to all the animals has been eaten by the inkalimeva." The animals, when they heard the cry, ran to the kraal and killed the duiker.

They put fat in the kraal the fourth time, and appointed the bluebuck (*iputi*) to be the keeper of the gate. When the animals went away, the inkalimeva came as before. It said: "What are you doing by yourself?" The bluebuck answered: "I am watching the fat belonging to all the animals." The inkalimeva said: "I will be your companion. Come, let us sit down and scratch each other's heads." The bluebuck agreed to this. The inkalimeva sat down; it scratched the head of the other till he went to sleep. Then it arose and ate all the fat. When it had finished, it threw a stone at the bluebuck and awoke him. The bluebuck saw what had happened, and cried out: "The fat of all the animals has been eaten by the inkalimeva." Then the animals ran up and killed the bluebuck also.

They put fat in the kraal the fifth time, and appointed the porcupine (*incanda*) to be the keeper of the gate. The animals went away, and the inkalimeva came as before. It said to the porcupine: "Let us run a race against each other." It let the porcupine beat in this race. Then it said: "I did not think you could run so fast, but let us try again." They ran again, and it allowed the porcupine to beat the second time. They ran till the porcupine was so tired that he said: "Let us rest now." They sat down to rest, and

the porcupine went to sleep. Then the inkalimeva rose up and ate all the fat. When it had finished eating, it threw a stone at the porcupine, which caused him to jump up. He called out with a loud voice: "The fat belonging to all the animals has been eaten by the inkalimeva." Then the animals came running up, and put the porcupine to death.

They put fat in the kraal the sixth time, and selected the hare (*umvundla*) to be the keeper of the gate. At first the hare would not consent. He said: "The coney is dead, and the muishond is dead, and the duiker is dead, and the bluebuck is dead, and the porcupine is dead, and you will kill me also." They promised him that they would not kill him, and after a good deal of persuasion he at last agreed to keep the gate. When the animals were gone he laid himself down, but he only pretended to be asleep. In a short time the inkalimeva went in, and was just going to take the fat when the hare cried out: "Let the fat alone." The inkalimeva said: "Please let me have this little bit only." The hare answered, mocking: "Please let me have this little bit only." After that they became companions. The hare proposed that they should fasten each other's tails, and the inkalimeva agreed. The inkalimeva fastened the tail of the hare first. The hare said: "Don't tie my tail so tight." Then the hare fastened the tail of the inkalimeva. The inkalimeva said: "Don't tie my tail so tight;" but the hare made no answer. After tying the tail of the inkalimeva very fast, the hare took his club and killed it.

The hare took the tail of the inkalimeva and ate it, all except a little piece which he hid in the fence. Then he called out: "The fat belonging to all the animals has been eaten by the inkalimeva." The animals came running back, and when they saw that the inkalimeva was dead they rejoiced greatly. They asked the hare for the tail, which should be kept for the chief. The hare replied: "The one I killed had no tail." They said: "How can an inkalimeva be without a tail?" They began to search, and at length they found a piece of the tail in the fence. They told the

chief that the hare had eaten the tail. He said: "Bring him to me." All the animals ran after the hare, but he fled, and they could not catch him. The hare ran into a hole, at the mouth of which the animals set a snare, and then went away. The hare remained in the hole many days, but at length he managed to get out without being caught.

He went to a place where he found a bushbuck (*imbabala*) building a hut. There was a pot on the fire with meat in it. He said to the bushbuck: "Can I take this little piece of meat?" The bushbuck answered: "You must not do it." But he took the meat and ate it all. After that he whistled a particular tune, and there fell a storm of hail which killed the bushbuck. Then he took the skin of the bushbuck, and made for himself a mantle.

After this the hare went into the forest to get himself some weapons to fight with. While he was cutting a stick the monkeys threw leaves upon him. He called to them to come down and beat him. They came down, but he killed them all with his weapons.

CHAPTER VII.

DESCRIPTION OF THE BANTU (*continued*).

THE Bantu were agriculturists. Millet of several varieties, all now called by Europeans kaffir-corn, was the grain exclusively grown. They raised large quantities of this, which they used either boiled or bruised into paste from which a very insipid kind of bread was made. In good seasons much millet was converted into beer. It was steeped in water until it began to sprout, then dried in the sun, and afterwards partly crushed in wooden mortars made by hollowing the end of a block of wood about seventy or eighty centimetres high. Two women, standing by the mortar, stamped the contents with heavy wooden pestles, keeping time with the strokes and usually lightening their labour by chanting some meaningless words. The malt was then boiled, and leaven mixed with it to cause it to ferment. Sometimes a bitter root was added to flavour it. It could be made so weak as to form a harmless and refreshing beverage, or so strong as to be intoxicating. In the latter case unmalted corn was crushed and mixed with water, which was then boiled, and malt was added afterwards until it was almost as thick as gruel, and to a European palate would have been nauseating. Millet beer was largely consumed at feasts of all kinds. It was used as soon as it ceased fermenting, for it speedily became sour. Some women were reputed to be able to make it much better than others, and on that account their services were largely in demand. In some parts of the country an intoxicating drink was also made from honey, which was plentiful in the season of flowers.

More pernicious was the custom of smoking dried leaves of wild hemp, which had the effect of producing violent coughing, followed by stupefaction. The usual pipe was a horn, but sometimes the smoke was inhaled through a clay tube made on the surface of the ground, and sometimes it was drawn through a vessel partly filled with water. A number of men would sit round the smoking apparatus, and each in turn make use of it until all were helpless. Another means of intoxication was afforded by the same leaves of wild hemp, which, when dried and reduced to powder, were mixed with water and drunk. The practice, however, either of smoking or drinking bangue was confined to a small section of each community, and the baneful plant was only obtainable at certain seasons of the year. In the form of snuff the stalks as well as the leaves and fibres, dried and beaten into powder, could be preserved, and were more generally used.

Among the coast tribes a supply of grain sufficient to last until the next season was preserved from the attacks of weevil by burying it in air-tight pits excavated beneath the cattle-folds. When kept for a long time in these granaries, the grain lost the power of germinating, and acquired a rank taste and smell, but it was in that condition none the less agreeable to the Bantu palate. The interior tribes preserved their grain either in huge earthenware crocks or in enormous baskets, which were perfectly watertight, and which could be exposed to the air without damage to their contents.

Different kinds of gourds, a cane containing saccharine matter in large quantities, and a sort of ground nut were the other products of their gardens. In the country between the lower Zambesi and Sabi rivers rice and various foreign vegetables had been introduced by the Arabs long before the beginning of the sixteenth century, but the cultivation of these had not extended to the interior or the southern tribes. Everywhere wild bulbs and plants, the pith of certain shrubs, and different kinds of indigenous fruit formed no inconsiderable part of the vegetable diet of the people. Children at a very early age were taught to look for

edible plants, and soon acquired such extensive knowledge in this respect that they were able to support themselves easily where Europeans would have perished.

As food they had also milk and occasionally flesh, though domestic cattle were seldom slaughtered except for sacrifices and feasts. The flesh of all that otherwise died was, however, eaten without hesitation. Milk was kept in skin bags, where it fermented and acquired a sharp acid taste. As it was drawn off for use by the master of the household, who was the only one permitted to touch the bag, new milk was added, for it was only in the fermented state that it was used. Amasi, or fermented milk, was exceedingly nutritious, and at the present day is relished by most Europeans. In warm weather, especially, it is a pleasant and wholesome beverage. The art of making butter and cheese was unknown.

Fish was consumed only by the tribes living along the large rivers in the interior and those on the eastern coast from Delagoa Bay northward. South of Delagoa Bay it was not used, except by offshoots from the northern tribes that had settled at a few places along the sea shore, possibly because in ancient times it may have been regarded as connected with the snake in whose form the ancestral spirits appeared. This, however, is mere conjecture, as the people themselves at the present day can give no other reason for not eating fish than that their fathers did not do so.

Occasionally large quantities of meat were obtained by means of the chase. The chief would select a day, and give instructions for all his people to assist in the hunt. A large tract of country would then be surrounded, and the game would be driven towards a deep pit, with a strong hedge extending some distance on each side of it. The pit was made in such a way that no animal forced into it by pressure of the herd behind could escape until it was full. By the warlike tribes the pit was often disdained as a means of capturing such game as antelopes and

zebras, and they preferred gradually to contract the circle of hunters and drive the animals towards the centre, killing with their assagais all that could not break through the ring. After one of these hunts feasting was continued until not a particle of meat was left, as the palates of the people did not reject what Europeans would regard as carrion.

Very large animals, such as the elephant, the hippopotamus, and the rhinoceros, were generally captured either by means of snares that caused a heavily weighted spear to fall upon them as they passed under a tree, or by means of carefully covered pits with sharp stakes in them, made in the beaten tracks of the animals towards water. Sometimes, however, men were found sufficiently courageous to lie in ambush beside the paths and hamstring the animals as they went by, when their destruction was easy. North of the Sabi river the tusks of the elephant and the hippopotamus were always saleable to the Mohamedan traders along the coast, and everywhere among the Bantu ivory arm rings were esteemed as ornaments. The flesh of all these animals was much prized, especially that of the hippopotamus.

Another occasional article of food was dried locusts. Swarms of these destructive creatures sometimes appeared, when every one engaged in capturing and preserving them, the legs, when dried, being regarded as not only nutritious, but pleasant to the taste. By the people of the interior a species of caterpillar was considered a special dainty, and the little field mouse was eagerly sought for as another. Boys before being circumcised were permitted to eat any kind of meat, even wild cats and other carnivora, but after that ceremony was performed the flesh of animals of prey was usually rejected.

Ordinarily two meals were eaten every day: a slight breakfast in the morning, and a substantial repast at sunset. Anyone passing by at that time, friend or stranger, provided only that he was not inferior in rank, sat down without invitation or ceremony, and shared in the meal. So great was the

hospitality of the people to equals and superiors that food could almost have been termed common property.

When reduced to great extremity of want by the ravages of enemies, sections of the Bantu sometimes resorted to cannibalism, but the horrible practice was by no means common. Portuguese writers indeed mention tribes whose habitual food was human flesh, still everything related concerning them shows that they were war-stricken hordes driven from their homes and wandering about with their hands against every man and every man's hands against them. In just the same manner in the early years of the nineteenth century parties of absolutely destitute people in the Lesuto and in Natal, driven into the forests and mountains by the devastations of Tshaka, preyed upon their fellows, whom they pursued as game; but as soon as a condition of comparative peace was restored, most of them returned to their normal way of living. A few indeed, who had acquired a taste for human flesh, though they were held in execration by all others, continued to exist as cannibals until they died out or were exterminated. It must have been the same in olden times with the tribes along the Zambesi of whom information is given by Dos Santos and other Portuguese writers: it was the direst necessity, not by any means their own choice, that led them to adopt a mode of maintaining life so different from that of their race in general. They may have continued longer in that condition than those in the south in the days of Tshaka, but it is certain that no tribe depended permanently upon human flesh for its subsistence.

The Bantu had an admirable system of land tenure for people in their condition. The chief apportioned to each head of a family sufficient ground for a garden according to his needs, and it remained in that individual's possession as long as it was cultivated. He could even remove for years, with the consent of the chief, and resume occupation upon his return. He could not lend, much less alienate it. But if he ceased to make use of it, or went away for a long time without

the chief's permission, he lost his right. Under the same conditions he had possession of the ground upon which his huts stood, and of a yard about them. All other ground was common pasture, but the chief had power to direct that portions of it should be used in particular seasons only. No taxes of any kind were paid for land, air, or water.

The gardens were not enclosed by hedges or fences, and they were very irregular in outline, as were also the different cultivated plots within them, for the eyes of the women were indifferent as to straight rows of plants. If the crops were damaged by cattle at night, the owner of the cattle was required by law to make good the loss, because he should have seen that his herds were either confined in a fold or guarded on a pasture so distant that they could do no harm. But if the damage was done in the daytime there was no redress, because some member of the family of the owner of the garden was then supposed to be watching it. So sensible and practical was the common law of these people.

Kraals were usually built in situations commanding an extensive view of the surrounding country, and always on ground with good natural drainage. The brow of a hill, with a clear flowing stream at its base and fertile garden ground beyond, was the site most favoured. Sanitary arrangements, even of the simplest kind, were unknown and uncared for, as the sense of smell was much duller with these people than with Europeans, and an impure atmosphere did not affect their health. Their superstition too required them to remove their residences whenever a man of importance died, so that kraals seldom remained many years on the same site.

Clans exposed to sudden attack by powerful enemies had naturally little or no choice in selecting sites for kraals. They were under the necessity of constructing their habitations in the best possible defensive position, which was usually the crown of a steep hill difficult of approach. Such hills are found in different parts of the country, often with sides so precipitous that the top can be reached by only one or two paths. When these were barricaded with rough stone walls,

the space above became a fortress, impregnable or nearly so. Such sites for kraals were, however, only resorted to as a last means of defence, on account of the occupants being cut off from gardens and pasture for their cattle as well as from easy access to water. Along the Zambesi some clans lived in stockaded enclosures, but these were unknown farther south.

The huts of the tribes along the coast were shaped like domes or beehives, and were formed of strong frames, thatched with reeds or grass. They were proof against rain or wind. The largest were about seven or eight metres in diameter, and from two metres and a fifth to two and a half in height at the centre. They were entered by a low, narrow aperture, which was the only opening in the structure. A hard and smooth floor was made of antheaps, moistened with water and then kneaded with a round stone. When this had set, it was painted with a mixture of cowdung and water, which was the material used afterwards for keeping it in good order. In the centre of the floor a fireplace was made, by raising a band three or four centimetres in height and a metre or so in diameter, and slightly hollowing the enclosed space. Many women bestowed a great deal of attention upon their fire-circles, often enclosing them with three bands, a large one in the centre, and a smaller one on each side of it, differently coloured, and resembling a coil of large rope lying between concentric coils of less thickness. Against the wall of the hut were ranged various utensils in common use, the space around the fire-circle being reserved for sleeping on. Here in the evening mats were spread, upon which the inmates lay down to rest, each one's feet being towards the centre. Above their heads the roof was glossy with soot, and vermin swarmed on every side. It was only in cold or stormy weather that huts were occupied during the day, for the people spent the greater portion of their waking hours in the open air.

The habitations of the people of the interior were much better than those of the people of the coast. With them the hut had perpendicular walls, and consisted of a central

circular room, with three or four small apartments outside, each being a segment of a circle. It was surrounded with an enclosed courtyard, but was destitute of chimney or window. On the coast no effort was made to secure privacy.

Horned cattle constituted the principal wealth of the Bantu, and formed a convenient medium of exchange throughout the country. Great care was taken of them, and much skill was exhibited in their training. They were taught to obey signals, as, for instance, to run home upon a certain call or whistle being given. Every man of note had his racing oxen, and prided himself upon their good qualities as much as an English squire did upon his blood horses. The horns of the animals were trained into the most fantastic shapes, and were often divided into two, three, or more parts, which was effected by slitting them as soon as they appeared on the young animal. The intelligence displayed by some of these oxen was as wonderful as the patience and skill shown by their trainers. They were taught to lie down at an order, to run in a circle, or to dance in rows. Ox racing was connected with all kinds of festivities. The care of cattle was considered the most honourable employment, and fell entirely to the men. They milked the cows, took sole charge of the dairy, and would not permit a woman so much as to touch a milksack.

The other domestic animals were goats, dogs, and barnyard poultry everywhere, and in the north sheep of the large-tailed hair-covered breed.

The descent of property was regulated in the same manner as the succession to the chieftainship, and disputes could not easily arise concerning it. Every head of cattle a man acquired was immediately assigned to a particular branch of his family, that is either to the house of his great wife, to that of his wife of the right hand, or to that of his wife of the left hand. If he had more wives than three, the remainder were in a subordinate position in one or other of these houses. When he died, the eldest son of each of the

three principal wives inherited everything that belonged to his mother's house. But the distribution of wealth was more equal than in any European society, for each married man had a plot of garden ground, and younger brothers had a recognised claim upon the heirs of their father for assistance in setting them up in life.

The Bantu of the coast were more warlike in disposition and braver in the field than those of the interior. The universal weapons of offence were wooden clubs with heavy heads and assagais or javelins, and shields made of ox-hide were carried, which varied in size and pattern among the tribes. The assagai was a slender wooden shaft or rod, with a long, thin, iron head, having both edges sharp, attached to it. Poising this first in his uplifted hand, and imparting to it a quivering motion, the warrior hurled it forth with great force and accuracy of aim. The club was used at close quarters, and could also be thrown to a considerable distance. Boys were trained from an early age to the use of both these weapons. To those above named the northern and central tribes added the battle-axe and bow and arrow, which, though known to, were not used by the men of the south.

In the most warlike of the Bantu communities the men were formed into regiments, and were trained to act in concert and to go through various simple military evolutions, but in the others the warrior knew nothing but the use of his weapons. With these a battle was a series of individual engagements, in which it sometimes happened that a man would challenge a noted adversary by name, and a duel would take place in presence of the others on both sides as mere spectators. In such cases the victor was presented by his chief with a crane's feather to be worn on his head, and he was thereafter a man of note among his people. A classification thus arose of the plumed and the unplumed in the following of a chief, though the former did not thereby become leaders or officers, that distinction being reserved exclusively for members of the ruling house. It was a

custom for a man to be marked, usually with a scar from a gash or a brand, for every adversary slain, and warriors prided themselves relatively upon the number of these.

Among the military tribes reviews in presence of the chiefs and mock combats were of frequent occurrence. The warriors were in full dress on such occasions, with their kilts of animals' tails around them, and their ornaments on their persons. Everything was conducted with as much order and ceremony as were observed by our own ancestors in their tournaments. At the command of the chief one regiment would be pitted against another, and each would attack, retreat, skirmish, and go through all the evolutions of a real battle until the weaker side became exhausted, when the other was pronounced the conqueror. Or it might be a general skirmish of the whole army against an imaginary enemy, or an attack upon a hill supposed to be fortified, or simply a march of the regiments past the commander in chief. Sometimes oxen were brought to take part in the manœuvres and to prove the skill of their trainers. A feast and a dance invariably followed the review, but often jealousies had been roused by the events of the day which led afterwards to engagements in real earnest between different regiments.

The dress of the people between the lower Zambesi and Sabi rivers at the beginning of the sixteenth century was partly composed of skins of animals and partly of cloth either obtained in barter or manufactured by themselves of wild cotton or the fibres of a certain bark. The home made cloth was coarse but strong, and was woven in the simplest manner in squares large enough to be fastened round the loins. The art of weaving, though not much more difficult than mat making, was not practised by all the clans, but by certain of them who traded with their productions. At a much earlier date the Arabs and Persians had introduced Indian calico, and squares of this material, obtained in exchange for ivory and gold, were in common use in that part of the country.

Elsewhere the ordinary dress of men when the air was chilly was composed of skins of wild animals formed into a square mantle the size of a large blanket, which they wrapped about their persons. The skin of the leopard was reserved for chiefs and their principal counsellors, but any other could be used by common people. Married women wore a leather wrapper like a petticoat at all times, and big girls at least an apron of leather strings, usually much more. In warm weather men and little children commonly went quite naked.

They were fond of decorating their persons with ornaments, such as necklaces of shells and teeth of animals, arm-rings of copper and ivory, head bands, etc. They rubbed themselves from head to foot with fat and red ochre, which made them look like polished bronze. Their clothing was greased and coloured in the same manner.

Many of them worked lines and simple patterns on different parts of their bodies—chiefly the breasts, shoulders, cheeks, and stomachs—by raising the skin in little knobs with a sharp iron awl and burning it, a process that to European eyes disfigured them much more than tattooing would have done, but which they regarded as ornamental. Each community that adhered to this custom favoured a form of cicatrice different from that of its neighbours, but there were numerous tribes that were without such markings. So with the front teeth: some clans filed them to a point, a few removed the two upper, but most allowed them to remain in their natural state. The hideous boring and plugging the lips and cheeks, so common north of the Zambesi, was not practised south of that river.

More attention was bestowed upon the hair than upon any other part of the body. Each tribe had its own fashion of wearing it, so that at first sight the nationality of an individual was known. Some worked it with wax and strings into imitations of horns, others into arches, others into circles, and so on. This necessitated the use of a peculiar head rest when sleeping, to prevent the hair from

becoming disordered. The rest was made of a single piece of wood, according to the fancy of its owner. Some were forty-five centimetres long, six or seven centimetres wide, and as many deep, with a slightly concave surface. Others were only fifteen or twenty centimetres long, ten to twenty centimetres high, and five to eight centimetres wide, with a deep concave surface for the head to lie in. Some of these were beautifully carved out of a block of hard wood, and were highly polished by being frequently rubbed with grease. In no other manufacture of wood was so much ingenuity displayed in designing patterns. An elaborate head rest used by a chief, for instance, might be a carved band supported by two, three, four, or even six columns standing on an oval or oblong base, each column fluted or otherwise decorated, and the base covered with little knobs or marked with a herring-bone pattern. Or it might be of almost any conceivable design between that and a plain block of wood of the requisite shape. It was never more than seven or eight centimetres wide, because it was necessary for the head to project beyond it, in order that the horns or other forms into which the woolly hair was trained might remain undisturbed.

Their manufactures, however, were not of a very high order when judged by a European standard of the present day. Foremost among them must be reckoned metallic wares, which included implements of war and husbandry and ornaments for the person. In many parts of the country iron ore was abundant, and this they smelted in a simple manner. Forming a furnace of clay or a boulder with a hollow surface, out of which a groove was made to allow the liquid metal to escape, and into which a hole was pierced for the purpose of introducing a current of air, they piled up a heap of charcoal and virgin ore, which they afterwards covered in such a way as to prevent the escape of heat. The bellows by which air was introduced were made of skins drawn from the animal with as little cutting as possible. These were inflated by opening the ends which

were then closed, when the air was pressed through horns of large antelopes tightly fixed at the other extremities. Two skins were worked by one man, using his hands alternately, and thus a continuous current was kept up. The molten iron, escaping from the crude yet effective furnace, ran into clay moulds prepared to receive it, which were as nearly as possible of the same dimensions as the implements they wished to make. These were never of great size, the largest being the picks or heavy hoes required for breaking up ground for gardens.

The smith, using a boulder for an anvil and a hammer of stone, next proceeded to shape the lump of metal into an assagai head, an axe, a pick, or whatever was wanted. The occupation of the worker in iron was hereditary in certain families, and was carried on with a good deal of mystery, the common belief being that it was necessary to employ charms unknown to those not initiated. But the arts of the founder and the blacksmith had not advanced beyond the elementary stage. Instead of an opening for inserting a handle in the hoe, it terminated in a spike which was driven into a hole burnt through the knob of a heavy shaft of wood. The assagai was everywhere in use, and in addition the interior tribes made crescent-shaped battle-axes, which were fastened to handles in the same manner as the hoes. On these implements of war they bestowed all their skill, and some of them really produced neatly finished articles. They worked the metal cold, and were unable to weld two pieces together.

Knives, or more properly daggers, for the ends were pointed and both edges were sharp, were also made of iron. The handles, which were of wood, bone, horn, or even occasionally of ivory, were frequently ornamented, as were also the sheaths of wood or bone in which they were carried. The amount of labour required to make one of these implements and its sheath was very considerable, so that its value relatively to other articles was high, and it was not every man who was so fortunate as to possess a knife. It

was carried about by means of a thong round the neck, and lay on the chest a little lower than the charms and strings of teeth and other ornaments, so that it was always ready for use. It was not regarded as a weapon of war, and indeed was unfit for much real service in combat.

Copper was found in several parts of the country, and was distributed over it by means of barter. It was used only for making such ornaments for the person as large beads, earrings, and armlets. Much less skill was employed in working this metal than in manufacturing iron implements, the articles produced being of a very rough kind, not to be compared in point of finish with a battle-axe or an assagai. The armlet was a mere bar bent until its ends met, and the earring was of no better workmanship. The beads were nothing more than drilled lumps of metal globular in shape, and were strung with bits of wood and teeth of animals on a thong. The neater ornaments of copper and brass wire now in use, and exhibited in various museums as specimens of Bantu industry, are of modern date, made of materials obtained from Europeans.

In the manufacture of wooden articles, such as spoons, bowls, fighting sticks, mortars, etc., they were tolerably expert. Each article was made of a single block of wood, requiring much time and patience to complete it, and upon it was frequently carved some simple pattern or the figure of an animal. Standing on the handle of a spoon might be seen a lizard, an ox, or an elephant, though always stiff in attitude; encircling the fighting stick might be seen two or three snakes with spots burnt upon them to make them resemble the living reptiles.

The tribes bordering on some of the rivers of the interior and along the eastern coast north of Delagoa Bay were able to construct canoes out of the trunk of a single tree, and knew how to propel them with paddles, but this simple art was not practised elsewhere. No means for crossing a swollen river, other than carrying a stone under each arm if the water was not too deep, had been devised by the

Bantu of the coast below Delagoa Bay, and ocean navigation was of course unthought of.

A product of some ingenuity was a little vase used for various purposes. It was made of the scrapings of skins which when soft were spread over clay moulds, and when dry became solid cases. The clay was then taken out with an *isilanda* or large iron pin which every man carried about with him to extract thorns from his feet, and the vessel was ready for use. Some were in the shape of animals, others of gourds, or whatever else the moulders desired. Usually while the gluey matter was still soft it was creased, or raised in ridges, or pricked all over with a sharp piece of wood, which greatly improved its appearance. Some of these articles, especially those in the form of European vases or decanters, were really extremely neat and pretty.

Skins for clothing, when the fur was preserved, were prepared by scraping them carefully and then thumping them with the hand and rubbing them for a length of time with a very smooth stone, by which means they were made nearly as soft and pliable as cloth. The interior tribes excelled in the art of dressing skins, and were able to make beautiful fur robes, which they stitched with sinews by the help of an awl. When the hair was removed from skins to make wrappers for women the process of preparing them was different. They were steeped in water, scraped on both sides, then dried, and afterwards beaten and rubbed with grease till they were soft. Finally they were cut into shape and sewed together with sinews to the required size, when the wrapper was coloured with red ochre and was ready for use.

In one comparatively small district of South Africa,—the territory between the lower courses of the Zambesi and Sabi rivers, — men were sometimes engaged in an occupation altogether unknown to their kindred elsewhere. This was the collection of gold. The chiefs were induced by the Mohamedan traders of the coast to employ bands of their subjects in searching for the precious metal, principally by

alluvial washing in the rainy season, though sometimes by mining and extracting quartz from reefs by the aid of fire. The quartz when brought to the surface was crushed, and the gold was then obtained by washing. This gold was inferior to the other in quality, and was known by a different name. According to Dos Santos the diggers were termed botonghi, which is evidently an approximation to the Sekalanga word for gatherers, from the root *uku buta*, to collect or gather. This industry must have come down from remote times, when it was practised to a much greater extent than at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The industries above mentioned were confined to males, but in other departments the women were equally skilful. Earthenware vessels containing from a quarter of a litre to three hectolitres were constructed by them, some of which were almost as perfect in form as if they had been turned on a wheel. Though they were frequently not more than a third of a centimetre in thickness, they were so finely tempered that the most intense heat did not damage them. These vessels were used for beer pots, grain jars, and cooking utensils. The potter's art has now become nearly if not wholly lost by the Bantu of South Africa, owing to the cheapness of importations from abroad. The women have found by experience that with much less labour they can earn sufficient money to purchase earthenware crocks, iron pots, and wooden kegs, and so contact with European civilisation has had the effect in this respect of diminishing their former skill.

Baskets for holding corn, rush mats for sleeping on, small mats used like plates to serve food on, and grass bags were made by the women. The bags were so carefully and strongly woven that they were used to hold water or any other liquid. In general none of these articles were dyed, nor was any attempt made to ornament them, though by a few of the people of the interior simple patterns were occasionally worked in the best of their mats with materials of different colour.

Of the use of stone for building purposes, the coast tribes knew nothing, and the interior tribes very little. None of them ever dressed a block, but the cattle-folds, which along the coast were constructed of branches of trees, in parts of the interior were made of round stones roughly laid together to form a wall. The quern, or handmill for grinding corn, which was in common use, consisted of untrimmed stones, one flat or hollow and the other round or oval.

When not engaged in the industries that have been mentioned, the men were habitual idlers. A great portion of their time was passed in visiting and gossip, of which they were exceedingly fond. They spent days together engaged in small talk, and were perfect masters of that kind of argument which consists in parrying a question by putting another. Though not pilferers, they were inveterate cattle thieves. According to their ideas, cattle stealing except from people of their own clan was not so much a crime as a civil offence, and no disgrace was attached to it, though if it was proved against a man the law compelled him to make ample restitution. But any one detected in the act of lifting cattle might be killed with impunity by the owner, and a chief punished with death any of his subjects whose conduct as a robber from other clans had a tendency to involve his own people in war.

The interior tribes were the more advanced in skill in such handicrafts as were common to them all. Their males sometimes aided the females in agriculture, though the hardest and most constant labour was by them also left to the women. But with these exceptions, all comparisons between the tribes must be favourable to those of the coast. The Bantu of the interior were smaller in stature and less handsome in appearance than the splendidly formed men who lived on the terraces facing the sea. In all that is comprised in the word manliness they were vastly lower.

Truth is not a virtue of barbarian life. In general if a man could extricate himself from a difficulty, escape punishment, or gain any other advantage by telling a falsehood,

and did not do so, he was regarded as a fool. Many of the chiefs of the coast tribes, however, prided themselves on adhering faithfully to their promises; but the word of an interior chief was seldom worth anything.

The deceptive power of all these people was great. But there was one member which a man of the coast could not entirely control, and while with a countenance otherwise devoid of expression he related the grossest falsehood or the most tragic event, his lively eye often betrayed the passions he was feeling. When falsehood was brought home to him unanswerably, he cast his glances to the ground or around him, but did not meet the eye of the person he had been attempting to deceive. The man of the interior, on the contrary, had no conception whatever of shame attached to falsehood, and his comparatively listless eye was seldom allowed to betray him.

The man of the coast was brave in the field: his inland kinsman was in general an arrant coward. The one was modest when speaking of his exploits, the other was an intolerable boaster. The difference between them in this respect was great, and was shown in many ways, but a single illustration from an occurrence of the present generation will give an idea of it. Faku, son of Gungushe, chief of the Pondos, by no means the best specimen of a coast resident, once wished to show his regard for a white man who was residing with him. He collected a large herd of cattle, which he presented with this expression: "You have no food to eat, and we desire to show our good will towards you, take this basket of corn from the children of Gungushe." An inland chief about the same time presented a half-starved old goat to his guest, with the expression "Behold an ox!" *

*This was unquestionably the case when Europeans first came into contact with the different tribes and placed on record the peculiarities of each, but it is not so in all instances at the present day. The chief of our time who possesses the highest moral qualities of any in South Africa is Khama, ruler of the Bamangwato. Bathoen, chief of the Bangwaketse, and Sebele, chief of the Bakwena, are also superior to

Among the coast tribes the institution of slavery did not exist, but there could be no more heartless slave-owners in the world than some of the people of the interior. Their bondsmen were the descendants of those who had been scattered by war, and who had lost everything but life. They could not own so much as the skin of an antelope, and upon any caprice of their masters they were put to death with as little compunction as if they were vermin.

In a state of society in which women were drudges performing all the severest labour, in which a man carrying only an assagai and a knobbed stick walked in front of his wives and daughters all bearing heavy burdens on their heads, it might be supposed that the females were unhappy. Such a supposition, however, would be erroneous. Freedom from care to anything like the extent that is common to most individuals of our own race tended to make Bantu females as well as males far happier on the whole than white people.

The women were quite as cheerful as the men, and knew as well as Europeans how to make their influence felt. In times of peace, after working in her garden a great part of the day, towards evening a woman collected a bundle of sticks, and with it on her head and a child on her back, trudged homeward. Having made a fire, she then proceeded to grind some soaked millet upon a quern, humming a monotonous tune as she worked the stone. When sufficient was ground, it was made into a roll, and placed in the hot ashes to bake. Meantime curdled milk was drawn by the head of the household from the skin bags in which it was kept, and the bags were refilled with milk just taken from the cows. The men made a hearty meal of the milk and

most of the other Bantu rulers. All of these are heads of interior tribes. It is not only from the observations of others, but from personal experience, that the writer of these pages is able to state that the chiefs here named are capable of acting with such generosity and good feeling as would do credit to any European. But they are exceptions to the general rule, and unfortunately few of their followers come up to their standard.

the bread, with sometimes the flesh of game and different vegetable products, and after they had finished the women and children partook of what was left. Then the men gathered round the fire and chatted together, and the young people sat and listened to the stories told by some old woman till the time for sleep arrived. Different games were also played occasionally, but as the only artificial light was that of burning wood, they were usually carried on in the daytime.

At a very early age boys commenced trials of skill against each other in throwing knobbed sticks and imitation assagais. They enjoyed this exercise in little groups, those of the same age keeping together, for there was no greater tyrant in the world than a big lad over his younger fellows. Commencing with an antheap at a distance of ten or fifteen metres for a target, they gradually became so perfect that they could hit an object thirty centimetres square twice or even three times as far off. The knobbed stick and the imitation assagai were thrown in different ways, the object with the first being to inflict a heavy blow upon the mark aimed at, while that with the last was to pierce it. This exercise strengthened the muscles of the arms and gave expansion to the chest. The result was that when the boys were grown up they were able to use their weapons without any further training. When practising, they kept up a continual noise, and if an unusually successful hit was made the thrower uttered a cry of exultation.

Boys above the age of nine or ten years were fond of sham fighting with sticks. They stood in couples, each with a foot advanced to meet that of his antagonist, and with a cudgel elevated in the right hand. Each fixed his eye upon the eye of his opponent, and sought to ward off blows as well as to inflict them. In these contests pretty hard strokes were sometimes given and received with the utmost good humour.

A game of which they were very fond was an imitation hunt. In this, one of them represented a wild animal of

some kind, a second acted as a hunter, and the others took the part of dogs in pursuit. A space was marked off, within which the one chased was allowed to take breath, when he was said to be in the bush. He tried to imitate as closely as possible the animal he was representing. Thus if he was an antelope he simply ran, but if he was a lion he stood and fought.

The calves of the kraal were under the care of the boys, and a good deal of time was passed in training them to run and to obey signals made by whistling. The boys mounted them when they were eighteen months or two years old, and raced about upon their backs. When the boys were engaged in any sport, one of the number was selected by lot to tend the calves. As many blades of grass as there were boys were taken, and a knot was made on the end of one of them. The biggest boy held the blades between the fingers and thumb of his closed hand, and whoever drew the blade with the knot had to act as herd.

They had also a simple game called hide and look for, exactly like our own. As a training for the eye and hand nothing could be better than their method of playing with little round pebbles. Each boy had a certain number, which he threw into the air one after another, catching them on his hand by turns as they fell, and throwing them up again before any touched the ground. He who could keep the whole longest in the air was the winner. Or they would try who could keep the greatest number of pebbles in the air at once.

If they chanced to be disinclined for active exercise, they amused themselves by moulding clay into little images of cattle, or by making puzzles with strings. Some of them were skilful in forming knots with thongs and pieces of wood, which taxed the ingenuity of others to undo. The cleverest of them sometimes practised tricks of deception with pebbles. They were so sharp that although one was sure that he actually saw the pebble taken into the right hand, that hand when opened would be found empty, and

it would be contained in the left, or perhaps it would be exhibited somewhere else.

The above comprised the common outdoor sports of boys up to the age of fourteen or fifteen years. At that time of life they usually began to practise the different dances which they would be required to take part in when they became men. These dances differed from one another almost as much as those practised by Europeans.

The commonest indoor game of the extreme southern tribes at the present time is the *iceya*, but this is of Hottentot origin, so need not be described here. A game of Bantu children everywhere was the *imfumba*. One of the players took a pebble or any other small substance in his hands, and pretended to place it in the hands of the others, who were seated in a circle around him. He might really give it to one of them, or he might keep it himself. One after another then guessed in whose possession it was. A variation of this game was played by men in rows of holes in the ground, but it was much more complicated.

Another common indoor game of children was called *cumbulele*. Three or four little ones stood with their closed hands on top of each other, so as to form a column. They sang *cumbulele, cumbulele, pangalala,* and at the last *la* they drew their hands back sharply, each one pinching with his thumb nail the hand above.

Toys as playthings were few in number, and were almost confined to clay oxen, wooden darts, bows and arrows, and the *nodiwu*. This was a piece of wood about fifteen or twenty centimetres long, four or five centimetres wide, and a third or half a centimetre thick in the middle. Towards the edges it was bevelled off, so that the surface was convex, or consisted of two inclined planes. At one end it had a thong attached to it by which it was whirled rapidly round. The other end of the thong was usually fastened to a small round piece of wood used as a handle. The *nodiwu*, when whirled round, gave forth a noise that could be heard at a considerable distance. Besides the use which it was put to by the

lads, when a little child was crying inside a hut, its mother or nurse would sometimes get a boy to make a noise with it outside, and then induce the child to be still by pretending that a monster was coming to devour it. There was a kind of superstition connected with the nodiwu, that playing with it invited a gale of wind. Men would, on that account, often prevent boys from using it when they desired calm weather for any purpose. It was much in evidence when the millet crops were ripening, and women and children were engaged from early dawn until darkness set in keeping the birds away. Little stages were then erected in the gardens, and on the appearance of a flock of finches each watcher shouted, clapped hands, whirled a nodiwu, or otherwise made as much noise as possible.

The form of greeting when people met varied greatly among the tribes. In the north clapping hands was the commonest form, accompanied by prostration of an inferior before a superior. "I see you" was the expression used by others on the coast. Among some of the interior tribes one person on meeting another asked the question "what are you eating?" and received as a conventional reply "nothing at all." In the south, on meeting a chief the salutation was "ah!" There was no general custom observed in this respect by all the branches of the race.

This was the condition of the Bantu at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Europeans became acquainted with a section of the race, and it is the condition of the great majority of them to-day, except where their customs have been modified by the authority or influence of white people. The opinion of those who have most to do with them now—four hundred years after their first contact with Caucasian civilisation—is that an occasional individual is capable of rising to a high standard, but that the great mass shows little aptitude for European culture. In mission schools children of early age are found to keep pace with those of white parents. In some respects, indeed, they are the higher of the two. Deprived of all extraneous aid, a

Bantu child is able to devise means for supporting life at a much earlier age than a European child. But while the European youth is still developing his powers, the Bantu youth in most instances is found unable to make further progress. His intellect has become sluggish, and he exhibits a decided repugnance, if not an incapacity, to learn anything more. The growth of his mind, which at first promised so much, has ceased just at that stage when the mind of the European begins to display the greatest vigour.

Numerous individuals, however, have emerged from the mass, and have shown abilities of no mean order. A score of ministers of religion might now be named as earnest, intelligent, and devoted to their calling as average Europeans. Masters of primary schools, clerks, and interpreters, fairly well qualified for their duties, are by no means rare. One individual of this race has translated Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* into the dialect of the Xosa tribe, and the translation is as faithful and expressive as any that have been made in the languages of Europe. Plaintive tunes, such as the converts at mission stations love to sing, have been composed by another for a considerable number of hymns and songs in the same dialect. Still another edits a newspaper, and shows that he has an intelligent grasp of political questions.

As mechanics they do not succeed so well, though an individual here and there shows an aptitude for working with iron. No one among them has invented or improved a useful implement since white men first became acquainted with them. And the strong desire of much the greater number is to live as closely like their ancestors as the altered circumstances of the country will permit, to make use of a few of the white man's simplest conveniences and of his protection against their enemies, but to avoid his habits and shut out his ideas. Compared with Europeans, their adults are commonly children in imagination and in simplicity of belief, though not unfrequently one may have the mental faculties of a full-grown man.

Note 1.—The first account of the southward migration of the Zulu, Tembu, and Xosa tribes that I am acquainted with is that given by the reverend J. L. Döhne, of the American board of missions, in the introduction to his *Zulu-Kafir Dictionary*, published at Capetown in 1857. In 1852 he found a small section of the Amaxosa, that had been left behind when the main body moved on, still living in Natal. He believed these tribes to have come from some place opposite the Mozambique coast, but of course he knew nothing of the invasion from the north-west and the terribly destructive wars towards the close of the sixteenth century, of which the Portuguese on the Zambesi have left accounts. Those narratives picture the events to which all the dim traditions of the tribes along the south-eastern coast collected during the nineteenth century point, and solve questions that could not be answered satisfactorily before they were published in accessible form.

Note 2.—Mr. Döhne mentions a fact well known to every one conversant with any Bantu dialect that the language contains a considerable number of words whose roots are identical with those of words with the same or nearly the same meaning in other tongues. He gives a list of over forty akin to words in Hebrew, Arabic, Greek, Latin, English, Dutch, and German, though the identity of some of them is not very clear. A gentleman of my acquaintance long resident among the Xosas and Tembus occupied much time in making a similar list of Xosa and Latin words with the same roots, and he informed me that he had succeeded in obtaining over thirty. The early French missionaries in Basutoland were astonished to find the people there sacrificing to the *Barimo*, a word identical with *Baalim*, the *l* in other dialects being often changed by the Basuto to *r*, and the noun requiring a vowel ending. How can these facts be explained? As to the last, the identity of words I think is accidental. The Barimo are the spirits of the dead, Baalim are forms of the sun god. The meaning is thus not the same. Then Barimo is found only in a highly specialised dialect of the Bantu language, and before any certainty can be arrived at, it will be indispensable to know what the primitive form was, that is the form in common use by the ancestors of all the Bantu before the division into branches took place. As for the numerous words with roots common to many languages, I can only offer an opinion of little or no value, as I have never had time to study the subject even carelessly, much less thoroughly. Taking the human species as of one origin, no matter where that origin may have been, there must have been a time, however remote, when all mankind, then a small community, used the same language. That language was probably very limited in words. Then a division of the people took place, when some migrated in one direction, some in another. Each section added new words to the old vocabulary to express new ideas, and each put the words together to form sentences in a different manner. Very soon there would be many distinct languages, varying from each other not only in the words used, but in grammatical

construction. But is it not allowable to suppose that the original words common to mankind would be retained by all to express the same meanings, and that though modified and distorted, abraded in some instances, enlarged in others, many of these primitive words may have come down even to the present day in such a form that their identity can be recognised by diligent observation? Is it not possible at least that when a Zulu or a Xosa says *ngena* and an Englishman says *enter*, the *en* in both instances is a relic of a far off age, when a little group of human beings, perhaps in Southern Asia, perhaps in some land now buried beneath the ocean waves, could look around in every direction without seeing others of their kind, and could claim the whole world as their own?

Note 3.—A knowledge of the origin of the Bantu race and of its early intercourse with other peoples would be exceedingly interesting, but I have neither time nor opportunity for making the necessary investigations, which indeed would be the work of a long life. For my purpose it would be of much greater practical importance to ascertain when the pioneers of this race first crossed the Zambesi, and to be able to trace the movements of all the tribes south of that river thereafter. A large field is open here for investigation, but it is not in my power to explore it. It will need a careful search for Arabic manuscript records, as well as an intimate acquaintance with printed Arabic books, and it will require to be made by some one with a previous knowledge of Bantu speech and habits, in order to be able to recognise any references to those people which may not otherwise be clear. It was to me a matter of the deepest regret that I was obliged to abandon research beyond the beginning of the sixteenth century, but it may be hoped that some competent person, with more leisure and greater means than I have had, will take the matter in hand and zealously carry it out.

Note 4.—After the description of the Bantu given above was sent to the publisher, I received a letter from an ethnologist in Europe, asking me what influence, if any, the mother's relatives exercise over Bantu children. I had not thought of describing this before, as it is a mere corollary of the marriage customs. The eldest brother of a married woman in most of the tribes exercises greater influence over his sister's children than any of her husband's brothers until all the cattle to be given for her have been transferred. The reason is obvious: the woman does not fully belong to her husband's family until that time, and her children are in the same position. Her eldest brother is considered their natural guardian. Except with chiefs, in whose case it is necessary that there should be no question whatever as to the family each child belongs to, it very seldom happens that the whole, or even the greater number of the cattle are transferred until many years after the marriage. It might almost be said it never happens, because at the birth of a child a claim is made upon its father by the father or brother of its mother for an ox or a cow, and this claim is recognised as one of right. Thus it is usually the case that a woman of the

commoner class is well advanced in life before the guardianship of her brother over herself and her children ceases and she and they are entirely incorporated in her husband's family. In the meantime her sons grow up, when this maternal uncle of theirs has the right of control over them to a considerable extent, with the corresponding duty of giving protection and assistance if necessary. Her daughters grow up and get married, when some of the cattle given for them go to this maternal uncle, who has been in a way their guardian and has kept them supplied with clothing if they needed it. With some tribes the principal *malume*, that is the eldest full brother of the mother of any one, has much more authority over his sister's children than with others. But with all it rests upon the principle that a woman is a member of the family of her father—provided of course that her mother has become so—until she is fully incorporated in the family of her husband. But there will be a long period of her life when her position will not be perfectly assured, and it is for this time, when protection is most needed, that Bantu law provides by the custom here described. It is where the position of a woman's mother, or even her grandmother, is uncertain, that complications arise which tax the ingenuity of a court of Bantu law to clear.

CHAPTER VIII.

ARAB AND PERSIAN SETTLEMENTS IN SOUTH-EASTERN AFRICA.

AT some unknown period in the past the territory between the Zambesi and Limpopo rivers was occupied by people more advanced in knowledge than the Bantu who were found living there at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Their nationality is uncertain, and nearly everything connected with them is involved in mystery. They were miners, and were skilled in looking for gold-bearing reefs and in working them when found. It is not impossible, though it is only a conjecture of some writers, that traders from the great commercial city of Tyre on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean sea visited them, and that in holy scripture an account of those visits is given. The conditions mentioned of the fleets that went down the Red sea to Ophir in the time of Solomon are not inapplicable to voyages to the mouths of the Zambesi or to Sofala, and the articles—gold, silver, precious stones, almug trees, ivory, apes, and peacocks —with which they returned are all found in South-Eastern Africa, if by almug trees ebony or some other very hard wood is meant, by precious stones pearls, and by peacocks the bustards that to-day are called wilde pauwen (wild peacocks) by the Dutch colonists.*

*The name of the bird given in the bible is said, however, to be of Tamil origin, and to be used for the peacock (pavo cristatus) at the present day in Ceylon. This appears to be the greatest impediment to the supposition that the Ophir of scripture is the Rhodesia of to-day, unless there was intercourse between Eastern Africa and Southern India in those early times, in which case an African bird might have received from strangers a Dravidian name.

The object that brought the first traders to South Africa can only be conjectured. They may have come in search of ivory, which from very early times was a valuable article of commerce, and the fact that elephants were plentiful in the country may have been ascertained by hunters pushing their way down from the north. The ivory traders may have found gold, and then mining would have commenced. This, however, is mere surmise, and there are obstacles in the way of accepting it or any other supposition that has yet been made. For instance, it is not likely that either hunters or traders would recognise the presence of the precious metal in quartz reefs in a country where alluvial gold is found only in a few localities and in small quantities. Thus it is not possible to say how, when, or by whom gold was first discovered in the Rhodesia of our day, any more than it is to say how, when, or by whom tin was first discovered in Cornwall.

What is certain is that at some time in the past, of which there is neither written record nor tradition now, mining operations were carried on over an immense tract of country south of the Zambesi. The miners were sufficiently skilful to be able to sink pits and run underground galleries along reefs, but they were obliged to cease operations when water began to flow in, as they had no means except buckets and human labour for keeping the excavations dry. The quantity of a reef that could be removed depended thus entirely upon its position, and where drainage was good considerable depths were reached.

With the appliances at their disposal there was only one way apparently in which this kind of mining could be carried on successfully, for a vast amount of labour was needed in excavating the gold-bearing rock, bringing it to the surface of the ground, there crushing it to powder, and then washing the dust to obtain perhaps a thirty or forty thousandth part of gold from it, though the value of that metal relatively to other articles must then have been very much greater than it is now. With a large number of slaves,

the men employed in extracting and crushing rock and the women in raising food, it was possible to make gold mining profitable, and it may be taken for certain that this was the condition of things at that time in the territory called Rhodesia to-day.

Among various articles manufactured by these people that have been found where they were left or lost are an ingot mould, crucibles, and beads, tacks, and thin plates of beaten gold. The thin plates in little squares of uniform size were intended to overlay wood, perhaps the ceilings and columns of grand buildings in other parts of the world, and the wedge-shaped tacks were for fastening them on. Many of these plates and tacks have been found.

Gold mining thus commenced never afterwards wholly ceased until the beginning of the nineteenth century of our era, though the population of the country may have changed many times. Wave after wave of war must have rolled over the land before Europeans made their first appearance, just as since that date, and on each occasion the greater number of the inhabitants must have perished, but some few would always remain to impart their knowledge to the conquerors. This seems the only way of accounting for people like the Makalanga, who were recent immigrants, being found collecting gold for sale at the beginning of the sixteenth century. At this time the metal was no longer beaten into thin plates, nor were tacks made, these articles having long since ceased to be in demand.

Over the whole country where mining was carried on, ruins of stone buildings and walls are scattered, in some places in astonishing numbers, implying a prodigious amount of labour exerted over a long period of time. The oldest of these ruins may be of much later origin than the commencement of the mining operations, but the articles found in the debris beside them prove that some of them were strongholds and factories of miners and workers in gold. Others, however, seem to have had no connection with mining industry, but to have been simply hill fortifications

constructed for purposes of defence by people subject to attack by enemies.

Even in the best of these structures the workmanship was of a low order. The arch was unknown, the walls, though circular or elliptical, were not perfectly regular in form, nor were they absolutely perpendicular or of equal thickness throughout. The men who built them were not sufficiently refined to appreciate mathematical correctness of shape or finish. In the very best the stones, taken from strata or layers of rock which could be broken off like slabs and which were consequently flat on two surfaces and of equal thickness, were trimmed at the sides, so that the courses are regular; but in far the greater number, though the stones have been selected, they have not been dressed, and the work is rough. In only a very few was cement or mortar used, except for levelling floors.

The most imposing of the ruins is that known as Great Zimbabwe, in latitude 20° 16′ 30″ south, longitude 31° 10′ 10″ east of Greenwich, 22·4 kilometres or fourteen miles from the present township of Victoria. The building there that has attracted most attention is elliptical in form, two hundred and ninety-two feet or eighty-nine metres in its greatest length by sixty-seven metres in greatest breadth, and was built of blocks of stone flat above and below when taken from the rock and trimmed to about double the width of ordinary bricks, but of varying lengths. The greatest height of the wall still standing is thirty-five feet or 10·68 metres, and its thickness varies from sixteen feet two inches or 4·9 metres to five feet or a metre and a half. The only ornamentation consists of two courses of stone laid in oblique positions in contrary directions along a fourth part of the wall near the top, but in some other structures courses of outer stones were laid about five centimetres or two inches apart for the same purpose. A solid conical stone tower, seventeen metres in circumference at the base and still about nine metres high, stands within the wall of this building. Among the debris numerous stone phalli have been found.

The labour required for the erection of such a building, or of another of great size on a hill close by, would be enormous in amount at the present day; what then must it have been when mechanical appliances such as are now in common use were unknown? Yet even this is trifling when compared with the vast amount of industry expended in the erection of lower walls at other places, such as the Niekerk ruins described by Dr. D. Randall-MacIver in his *Mediæval Rhodesia.*

The existence of ruins of such extent and magnitude implies a dense population, although many centuries may have passed away between the laying of the first and the last stone in them. That population was not content to leave its supply of food entirely to the chances of the seasons. Droughts were guarded against by a system of irrigation pronounced by competent authorities from its remains to have been almost as perfect as could be devised at the present day, so that abundance of grain could be relied upon, for here, as everywhere else in South Africa, only water was needed to make the soil as productive as any in the world. At first sight it might seem that to conserve it nothing more was necessary than to construct dams across the courses of streams, but so violent were the floods in the rainy season that unless the dams were immensely strong they would certainly be swept away. Under such circumstances artificial reservoirs were requisite, into which water could be led when the streams were full, and from which it could be drawn into furrows for irrigating purposes when dry weather set in. Such reservoirs required skill and much labour to construct and afterwards to preserve in order. This part of Africa must therefore have presented a scene of industry in mining, building, and cultivation of the soil that is not easy to picture by those who know it at the beginning of the twentieth century of the Christian era. It is possible, however, that the whole of the vast territory from the Zambesi to the Limpopo was not occupied at the same time, but portions of it successively.

When or why the massive buildings and lines of fortifications were abandoned remains as much a mystery as when or by whom they were constructed. A historian, being without means to determine this question, must leave it for archæological research to decide. There is no mention of any of them being occupied at or after the beginning of the sixteenth century, and if those farthest east had been, the fact could hardly have escaped the knowledge of Portuguese residents at Sofala and the Zambesi stations. Of those south and west of their trading posts they might never have heard. At some unknown time then they were abandoned, probably as the result of war and at different periods, and afterwards materials accumulated within the walls, in which at length great trees sprang up and helped to complete their ruin. With few exceptions the pits by which the mines were reached also became filled, and the irrigation works were all but completely obliterated. Bantu tribes with only the ordinary amount of intelligence and energy possessed by these people now occupied the territory where once so much industry had been expended. Still a little gold was obtained from a few of the shallowest of the old workings down to the days of Tshaka.

In the tenth century of our era we come upon something like firm footing with regard .to a knowledge of the inhabitants of the coast of South-Eastern Africa, for which we are indebted to an Arab writer. Abou'l Haçan Ali el Maçoudi was born at Bagdad towards the close of the third century after the hegira. In early manhood he was fond of travel, and visited India and many parts of the East, as well as the island of Kanbalou or Madagascar and the African coast somewhere north of the equator. In later life he resided for a time at Antioch and at Bassorah, and died at Old Cairo in the year of our lord 956. In 943 he completed a great work, which has been translated by Messrs. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courtaille and published in Paris for the Asiatic Society of France. The translation is entitled *Les Prairies d'Or*, and was issued,

with the original Arabic text, in nine octavo volumes, in the years 1861 to 1877.

In Maçoudi's time the Indian sea was frequented by Arab and Persian vessels, the monsoons were taken advantage of to cross over from Hindostan and Ceylon to Madagascar and the African coast, and up and down between the Red sea and Persian gulf on the north and Sofala and Madagascar on the south sailed ships manned by Arabs of Oman and the tribe of Azd or Persians from the ports farther east. From the way it is spoken of, this commerce was no new thing, it was as thoroughly established as the Portuguese found it five centuries later, though as yet there were no Asiatic settlements on the African shore.

Maçoudi describes the Bantu, or Zendj as he terms them, as inhabiting the country as far south as Sofala, where they bordered upon the Wakwak or Bushmen. Unfortunately he speaks of Sofala as a territory or country, not as a town or river, so that the exact boundary between the two races cannot be ascertained. The Bantu of Sofala were under a ruler with the dynastic title of Waklimi, who was paramount over all the other tribes to the north and could put three hundred thousand men in the field.*

They used the ox as their beast of burden, there being neither camels nor horses nor mules in their country, and they were even ignorant of the existence of these animals. The climate was hot, and snow and hail were to them unknown. Among them were some whose teeth were sharpened, and who were cannibals. Wild elephants were numerous in the country, but a single tame one was not to be found. The country of Sofala produced gold in abundance, panther skins which the inhabitants used to clothe themselves and to sell to the Mohamedans, who covered their saddles with them, tortoise shells such as could be applied instead of

* This is probably incorrect, even if the Waklimi was a great military ruler like Tshaka, and was acknowledged as their superior by tribes as far as his armies had gone. He cannot have been the head of the whole Bantu race, as Maçoudi pictures him.

horn to make combs, and ivory. The inhabitants killed elephants with darts (assagais) and sold the ivory, which was taken to Arabia, and thence sent to India and China, where it was in demand.

These people used iron for personal ornaments instead of gold or silver. They employed oxen in war and for riding purposes as if they were camels or horses, and the animals ran with as great speed. They expressed themselves with elegance, and there were even orators among them. They termed God Maklandjalou, meaning supreme master. They had no religious creed, but their chiefs observed certain customs, and followed political rules. Each one worshipped what pleased him, a plant, an animal, or a mineral. The staple food was millet and a plant called kalari, which was drawn out of the ground like a truffle or the root of an alder. They also ate honey and the flesh of animals.

This was the description of the Bantu of Sofala given by Maçoudi, and its general accuracy leaves the reader in no doubt as to the condition of the country and its commerce in his time.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, when South-Eastern Africa was first visited by Europeans, small quantities of gold—chiefly alluvial—were collected, but no traditions were extant of either the first working of the mines or of the erection of the great stone buildings. The Bantu who occupied the country had not been there for many generations. Asiatics were in possession of all the trade, but not of the soil, or of dominion over the inhabitants. From the Moors, as they termed these people, the Portuguese learned of the existence of extensive ruins inland, which they do not appear at any time to have visited themselves, for the descriptions given by their writers are very far from being correct. Thus the temple at Great Zimbabwe, according to their accounts, was a square building, not circular as it really is, and they stated that there was an inscription over one of its doors which no Arabic scholar could decipher, whereas not only is there no such inscription now, but no indication

of a stone having been removed on which one could have been displayed at any time.

The Asiatics who were found trading and occupying various stations along the coast were Arabs and Persians, and as they possessed a literature and preserved records of their original settlements and subsequent transactions, the Portuguese writers into whose hands these records came were able to give a very clear account, not only of their condition in the early years of the sixteenth century, but of their previous history and dealings with the Bantu inhabitants. That history was as follows:—

A certain man named Zaide, great-grandson of Ali, nephew and son-in-law of Mohamed, maintained religious opinions that were not in accordance with the koran as interpreted by the Arabian teachers, and was therefore banished from his home. With his adherents, who from him were termed the Emozaidi, he passed over to the African coast, and formed some temporary settlements of no great importance along it. These people were of a roving disposition, and gradually moved southward, avoiding conflicts with the blacks but incorporating many of them, until in course of time they became hardly distinguishable from Africans except by the profession of a form of the Mohamedan creed and a somewhat higher way of living. The trading instinct of the Arabs led them, however, to carry on a petty commerce in gold and probably in other productions of the country. How far south the Emozaidi eventually wandered cannot be ascertained with precision, but some of them appear to have reached the equator before the next stream of immigration set in.

This was from Central Arabia, and consisted of a number of families driven out by the oppression of a neighbouring sheik. In three vessels they crossed over to the African coast, and founded first the town of Magadosho, and subsequently that of Brava, both not far north of the equator. In time Magadosho became a place of importance, various subordinate settlements were made to the southward, and

its trade grew to large proportions. The Emozaidi, who were regarded as heretics by these later immigrants, would not submit to their authority, and were driven inland and forced into still closer connection than before with the blacks of Africa. They became the wandering traders of the interior, the people who collected the products of the country and conveyed them to the coast for sale.

A vessel belonging to Magadosho, having been driven from her course by a storm, put into the port of Sofala, where her crew learned that gold was to be obtained in trade. This led to a small settlement of Arabs at that place, and to a knowledge of the coast as far as Cape Correntes.

Rather more than seventy years elapsed after the founding of Magadosho and Brava when, towards the close of the fourth century of the Mohamedan era, or about fifty years before the Norman conquest of England, another band of strangers settled on the East African seaboard. A ruler of Shiraz in Persia died, leaving seven sons, one of whom, named Ali, was despised by his brothers on account of his mother having been an Abyssinian slave. He was a man of energy and ability, however, so to avoid insult and wrong he resolved to remove to some distant land. With his family and a few followers he embarked in two vessels at the island of Ormuz, and sailed to Magadosho. The Persians and the Arabs were alike followers of the creed of Mohamed, and professed to hold the koran as their guide, but they formed rival sects, and at that time regarded each other with great bitterness. Ali could not settle at or near Magadosho therefore, so he steered down the coast in search of a place where he could build a town of his own, free of the control of everyone else.

Such a place he found at Kilwa, the Quiloa of the Portuguese. The island was occupied by blacks, but they were willing to sell their right to it, which Ali purchased for a quantity of cloth, when they removed to the mainland. He then formed a settlement, and constructed fortifications sufficiently strong for defence against the African blacks

and the Arabs higher up the coast who were unfriendly towards him. Whether the island had a name before is not known: he called it Kilwa. Admirably situated for commerce, the settlement attracted immigrants and grew rapidly, so that even in Ali's lifetime it was able to send out a colony to occupy the island of Mafia not far to the northward. Successively different settlements were formed or those founded by the Arabs were conquered, until in course of time Kilwa, notwithstanding various civil wars, became not only the most important commercial station, but the ruling town on the East African coast.

At first the houses were built of wood and clay, but these were afterwards replaced by others of stone and mortar, with flat roofs or terraces which could be used for the same purposes as stoeps in the Cape Colony in our day. The streets between the rows of houses were very narrow, mere alleys in fact, but in the outskirts were large gardens planted with various kinds of vegetables, in which grew also palms and different trees of the orange species. In front of the town, close to the harbour, was the residence of the ruler, which was built to serve also as a fortress, and was ornamented with towers and turrets. The mosques were adorned with minarets, so that, as looked upon from the sea, Kilwa presented the appearance of a beautiful and stately eastern town.

About the year 1330 of our era it was visited by a learned Mohamedan named Abu Abdallah Mohamed Ibn Abdallah el Lawăti, a native of Tanjier, usually known as Ibn Batuta. This great traveller left his home in the year of the hegira 724, and did not return until 754, having visited in that time Egypt, the Soudan, Syria, Arabia, the East African coast, Persia, Hindostan, Java, Sumatra, China, and other countries, of which he wrote an account. Makdashu, or Magadosho as now termed by Europeans, he describes as a large city. From it he proceeded down the coast to Mombasa, and thence to Kilwa, whose ruler when he was there was Abu el Mozaffir Hasan. According to the *Chronicle*

of the Rulers of Kilwa, the sultan at this time, the nineteenth in succession from Ali, was named Hacen, who is described therein as a very gallant man. Ibn Batuta relates that he gained great victories over the infidel Zendj, or Bantu, so that the one account corroborates the other. He speaks of the abundance of ivory, and mentions gold, but only to say that the people of Kilwa did not give much of it in charity. The houses were still built mainly of wood.*

There were now three distinct communities of Asiatic origin on the East African coast: the Emozaidi, deemed by both the others to be heretics, the orthodox Arabs, holding one form of the Mohamedan faith, and the Persians, holding another. They were all at variance, and strife between them was constant. This is the key to their easy conquest by the Portuguese in later times. They termed the Bantu inhabitants of the mainland Kaffirs, that is infidels, an epithet adopted by modern Europeans and still in use. None of them, however, scrupled to take women of that race into their harems, and thus at all their settlements the number of mixed breeds was large. At the commencement of the sixteenth century the majority of those who called themselves Arabs, including the descendants of the Persian immigrants, were undistinguishable in colour and features from the ordinary Bantu. It followed that while those in whom the Asiatic blood was predominant were strict Mohamedans, the others were almost indifferent in matters concerning that religion.

Sofala was wrested from Magadosho by the people of Kilwa in the time of Soleiman, ninth successor of Ali, and with it a trade in ivory and gold was secured which greatly enriched the conquerors and enabled them to extend their power. In the zenith of its prosperity Kilwa was mistress

*I am unable in South Africa to obtain the full text to refer to. The above is taken from *The Travels of Ibn Batuta*, translated from the abridged Arabic manuscript copies preserved in the public library of Cambridge by the Rev. Samuel Lee, B.D., Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. A quarto volume of 243 pages, published at London in 1829.

of Melinde and Sofala on the mainland, the islands of Mombasa, Pemba, Zanzibar, Mafia, Comoro, Mozambique, and many others of less note, various stations on the coast of Madagascar, and numerous small trading posts along the African shore as far south as Cape Correntes, beyond which no vessel in those times ever passed. But owing to internal strife and perpetual feuds among the different communities, all of these places except Mozambique were lost before the beginning of the sixteenth century, and each of the others had become a petty but sovereign state.

The forty-third ruler of Kilwa after Ali was named Abraham,* and it was he who held the government when the Portuguese arrived on the coast. He did not rule, however, by right of descent, but had seized the supreme authority under pretence of keeping it in trust for an absent heir. On this account he was conceded no higher title than that of Emir. When he thus usurped the administration of Kilwa a man named Isuf † was governor of Sofala, having received that appointment many years before. This Isuf was held in high esteem for ability and valour, and as he did not choose to acknowledge Emir Abraham as a superior, he made himself independent and opened his port to the trade of Melinde and other towns on the coast.

The Asiatic communities on the African seaboard existed almost entirely by commerce. Except at Pemba, Zanzibar, and one or two other places they did not carry on agriculture to any large extent, though they introduced various fruit-trees and the cultivation of rice and probably a few foreign vegetables among the Bantu. The small islands were not adapted for the growth of grain, and the supplies of food needed by the inhabitants of such towns as Kilwa and Mombasa could be obtained without difficulty in exchange for such wares as they had to barter. One product of the ground, however, they paid particular attention to. That

* Habrahemo according to Barros, Abraemo according to De Goes.

† Yçuf according to Barros, Çufe according to Castanheda and De Goes.

was the cocoa-palm, without which they could not have existed as they did. From its fruit they obtained not only an agreeable article of diet, but a fibre of the greatest utility; from its leaves material for mats and thatching; and from its trunk timber for the habitations of the poorer classes, masts and spars for their vessels, and wood for a great variety of other purposes. There was no part of this valuable tree of which some use could not be made.

They built vessels adapted for the navigation of the upper part of the Indian sea, where the monsoons blow regularly at different periods of the year from the east and from the west, though in them they could not venture on such stormy waters as those south of Cape Correntes. In these vessels no iron was used, the planks being fastened to the timbers with wooden treenails, and all the parts sewed or bound together with cord of coir. As they did not use saws, the planks were formed by splitting the trunks of trees down the centre, and then trimming each block with an axe, a tedious and clumsy process, in which much timber was lost. The sails were of close and strong matting, and the standing and running gear alike was made of coir. The largest of these vessels—now called dows—were used for crossing over to the coasts of Arabia, Persia, and Hindostan; those next in size—which were called pangayos by the first Europeans who saw them—for the most important part of the home trade; and the smallest—termed zambucos and luzios—for communicating between the settlements, conveying cargoes up and down the mouths of the Zambesi, and other purposes where heavy tonnage was not needed. The zambucos and luzios, indeed, were nothing more than large boats, half decked, and commonly provided with awnings. In shallow places, as in rivers, they were propelled with poles.

The pilots, called malemos, who conducted the vessels to foreign ports, were remarkably expert. Steering across to the coast of Hindostan, for instance, they seldom failed to make the land within a very short distance of the place they were bound to. They determined the latitude by

means of measuring the angular altitude of certain stars when on the meridian, for which purpose they used an instrument which they regarded as superior to that by which the first Portuguese navigators in those seas found their way. Of any other method of determining longitudes than by dead reckoning, however, they were as ignorant as all the rest of the world at that time.

The commerce carried on by these people with distant lands was indeed small when compared with that which passed from India either up the Persian gulf and thence by caravans to the shore of the Mediterranean, or up the Red sea, then overland to Cairo, and down the Nile to Alexandria, where the produce of the East was obtained by the Venetians to be distributed over Europe; but for Africa it was considerable, and it was not subject to much fluctuation.

From India they obtained silks, spices, and other articles of luxury for the use of their own people of pure or nearly pure Asiatic blood, and cotton cloth and beads for trade with the Bantu; from Arabia and Persia rich fabrics, dates, scimitars, large sheathed daggers, and various other kinds of merchandise. Every man, no matter how black, who claimed to be a Mohamedan, wore at least a turban and a loin cloth, and carried a weapon of some kind on his person. The men of rank and wealth, who were of lighter colour, dressed in gorgeous robes of velvet, silk, or cotton, had sandals on their feet, and at their sides ornamented scimitars of finely tempered steel. The women naturally were clothed more or less richly according to the position of their parents and husbands, and they were particularly fond of trinkets. Every article of dress or adornment, all glassware, the best of the furniture of every description, the choicest weapons, and various luxuries of diet were imported from abroad.

With pieces of calico to be used as loin-cloths, beads, and ornaments of trifling value, the traders went among the Bantu on the mainland. Ingratiating themselves with the chiefs by means of presents, they induced those despots to

send out men, here to hunt elephants, there to wash the soil for gold, and so forth. Time was to them of less importance than to Europeans, and their mode of living was so nearly like that of the pure Africans that they could reside or travel about without discomfort where white men could hardly have existed. Thus the trade that they carried on was much greater in quantity than that of their Portuguese successors, though its exact amount cannot be ascertained. Upon their wares they obtained enormous profits. They received in exchange gold, ivory, pearls from the oyster beds at the Bazaruta islands, strips of hippopotamus hide, gum, and ambergris washed up on the coast, with which they carried on their foreign commerce; and millet, rice, cattle, poultry, and honey, which they needed for home consumption.

Commerce was open to any one who chose to engage in it, but practically was confined to the pure Asiatics, who employed the mixed breeds as their agents in conducting the inland barter, working the vessels, and performing the rough labour of every kind. The governments, Arab, Persian, and Bantu alike, derived a revenue from the trade that to-day seems extortionate. When an elephant was killed, the tusk next the ground belonged to the chief, and when the upper one was sold he took about half the proceeds. On all other articles disposed of by his subjects, his share was about the same proportion, besides which the traders on the other side were obliged to make him large presents before commencing to barter. When Mombasa after the independence of Isuf was able to trade with Sofala, an export duty of rather over fifty per cent was levied on the merchandise for the benefit of the government of that town. At Kilwa any one desiring to trade with Sofala was obliged to pay about seventy per cent of the value of the goods before leaving the port, and on arrival at his destination one-seventh of what was left. Upon his return he paid a duty of five per cent of the gold he had acquired. The duty on ivory brought to Kilwa was very heavy, so that in fact

the government obtained a large proportion of the profits on commerce.

On the islands the governments of the Asiatics were not only independent, but all other authority was excluded, and on some of them fortifications were erected, as well as mosques and houses of stone. But on the mainland south of Kilwa, it was different. Here the mixed breeds were permitted by Bantu chiefs to reside for purposes of trade, but they were by no means lords of the country. The sheiks ruled their own people, but no others, like Bantu clans which are often found intermingled, whose idea of government is tribal rather than territorial. They were obliged to make the Bantu rulers large presents every year for the privilege of living and trading in the country, which presents may be regarded rather as rent for the ground and license fees than as tribute. Under these circumstances they did not construct any buildings of stone.

The pure Asiatic settlers on the African coast were grave and dignified, though courteous in demeanour. They were as hospitable as any people in the world, but they were attached to their ancestral customs, and keenly resented anything like an affront. They were enterprising, though so conservative in their ideas that they were incapable of making what Europeans would term rapid progress in civilisation. As superstitious as their Bantu neighbours, they especially regarded dreams as figuratively foreshowing events, and he was regarded as wise who pretended to be able to interpret them. The tombs of men celebrated for piety were places of ordinary pilgrimage, but every one endeavoured when in the prime of life to visit the city of Mecca in Arabia, thereby to obtain the highly honoured title of hadji.

The mixed breeds, who formed the great bulk of the nominally Mohamedan population, had all the superstitions of both the races from which they were descended. They would not venture to sea on a coasting voyage if one among them had an adverse dream, or without making an offering,

if only of a shred of calico or a piece of coir cord, at the tomb of some holy man. They believed that the winds could be charmed to rise or fall, that the pangayos were subject to bewitchment, that even the creatures of the sea could be laid under spells. They lived in short in the atmosphere of the *Arabian Nights*, darkened by the gloom of Bantu fear of malignant sorcery.

Coming down the eastern coast of Africa in the year 1500, the principal Mohamedan settlements and trading stations were in geographical order as follows:—

Magadosho,* in latitude 2° 2′ north of the equator. The town was on the coast of the mainland, partly built upon an eminence rising to a height of about 12·19 metres above a sandy plain. It contained several mosques and many stone houses with flat roofs. In front, at no great distance from the shore and parallel with it, was a coral reef seven or eight kilometres in length, which protected the channel within from the fury of the sea. At low spring tides the water in the channel was only two fathoms in depth, but that was sufficient for the dows used in the Indian trade. There was no other port.

Brava, in latitude 1° 7′ north, was also built on the coast of the mainland. It stood on an eminence about thirty metres above the beach, and was enclosed with a wall. The town was well built, and was governed as an aristocratic republic, the only one of the kind on the coast. The port somewhat resembled that of Magadosho, being a channel along the shore partly protected by islets and reefs, but was more exposed to heavy rollers from the sea.

Melinde,† in latitude 3° 15′ south of the equator, situated on the coast of the mainland, was also a well-built town. Adjoining it was an extensive and fertile plain, covered with beautiful gardens and groves, in which flourished fruit trees of various kinds, principally orange and lemon. To

* Variously spelt in books and on charts at present as well as in olden times Magadoxo, Magadaxo, Magadosho, Mogdishu, and Mukdeesha.

† Variously spelt Melinde, Melinda, Maleenda, and Malindi.

gain this advantage the town was built some distance from the nearest anchorage, which itself was far from safe, being a roadstead protected to some extent by a reef, but made dangerous by numerous shoals. It possessed, however, in a narrow rocky peninsula extending into the sea an excellent natural pier for landing cargo from boats.

Mombasa, on a coral island about five kilometres long by three broad, was situated in the estuary of the Barretté river, in latitude 4° 4′ south. The island was like a huge fortress, standing from twelve to eighteen metres out of the water and presenting steep cliffs of madrepore on the seaward side. It possessed one of the best natural harbours in the world, easily accessible at all times. On each side the passage between the island and the banks of the estuary was broad and deep, though winding, and when in them or in the fine sheet of water to which they led a vessel was perfectly sheltered. This sheet of water could only be reached by large vessels through the northern strait, because a submerged reef stretched across the inner end of the other, and at low tide formed a ford to the mainland. The town was built along the steep shore of the northern passage, not far from the sea, and was next to Kilwa the most celebrated on the coast. The houses were of stone, so well constructed that the first Europeans who saw them compared them favourably with residences in Spain. Mombasa, owing to its excellent site and to the prevalence of sea breezes, was less troubled with fever than any other settlement on that part of the coast.

Pemba, a coral island, rising in the highest part to ninety-two metres above the level of the sea, was sixty-one kilometres in extreme length by twenty-one in width. It was about twenty-nine kilometres from the mainland, with a clear passage for ships inside, though coral reefs abounded near the shore. The island was fertile, and produced large quantities of provisions, particularly rice, for exportation. The principal Arab settlement on it was in latitude 5° 25′ south.

Zanzibar, not far south of Pemba, was an island similar in every respect, though larger, being seventy-six kilometres in extreme length by thirty-two in breadth. It rose to a height of one hundred and thirty-four metres above the level of the sea. The principal Arab town, from which the island took its name, was on the western side, in latitude 6° 3′ south. The anchorage in front of it was good and capacious, and there were many secure harbours among the islets and reefs in the channel between it and the mainland. Here were built the greater number of the vessels used in the Indian and the coasting trade, and from the island considerable quantities of provisions were exported.

Mafia,* a coral island rising abruptly from a great depth of water, lay about fourteen kilometres from the mainland. This island was about forty-three kilometres in length by fourteen in extreme breadth, between 7° 38′ and 8° south latitude. It was of much less importance than either Zanzibar or Pemba.

Kilwa, a low coral island, rather over six kilometres in length by three in breadth, rising on the northern side to fourteen metres above the sea level, was set like an arrow in a drawn bow in the estuary of the Mavudyi river. It lay in latitude 8° 57′ south. With the sea in front, a strait on each side, and a sheet of water extending sixteen or twenty kilometres beyond its inner extremity, it was a very strong position. As at Mombasa, the southern strait was crossed at its far end by a reef, along which access to the mainland could be had at low water. This strait was interspersed with islets, and made a capacious harbour, admirably adapted for shipping, but that on the northern side of the island was difficult to navigate on account of its containing numerous reefs and sand banks.

Passing south of Cape Delgado, in latitude 10° 40′, a chain of coral islets and reefs parallel to the coast at a distance of thirteen to twenty-one kilometres, and extending one hundred and eighty-eight kilometres along it, was to be seen.

* Written also Monfia and Monfeea.

The principal islet was termed Kerimba, or Querimba, and from it the whole group was named. Next in importance was Ibo. Most of the others were uninhabited, being mere rocks rising from the sea. Along the strait within were numerous harbours for ships.

The northern extremity of the Mozambique channel has now been reached, and halfway across it lay the Comoro islands, all of volcanic origin. The principal of these were named Comoro, Johanna, Mohilla, and Mayotta, but there were many smaller in size. These islands were also possessed by the Arabs, who made use of them as convenient stopping places on their way to the great Island of the Moon, which we term Madagascar.

Keeping down the African coast, an inlet about nine kilometres across and ten in depth was reached, in latitude 15° south. Into its inner end ran three streamlets, but of inconsiderable size. Lying across the centre of the mouth of the inlet, within a line joining its two outer points, was a low coral island, about two kilometres and a half in length and three hundred and sixty-six metres in breadth, named Mozambique. About five kilometres farther out in the sea were two others, similar in formation, then uninhabited, one of which is now called Saint George and the other Saint Jago. Behind Mozambique was a spacious harbour, easily accessible and perfectly sheltered. At long intervals indeed a furious cyclone would sweep over it and cause great destruction, but the same could be said of any part of that coast and sea. Such a position as the island of Mozambique could not escape the observation of the Mohamedans, though it had not the advantages of Kilwa or Mombasa. The island itself produced nothing, not even drinking water. On the northern shore of the inlet, since termed Cabaceira, the ground was fertile, but it was exposed to irruptions of the Bantu inhabitants, who were generally hostile. So Mozambique never rose to be more than a dependency of Kilwa, a mere halfway station for vessels bound up or down the coast. Its Mohamedan occupants had their gardens and cocoa nut

groves on the mainland, but could not always depend upon gathering their produce.

The Angosha * islands lay off the mouth of the Angosha river, between latitude 16° and 16° 40′ south. The river was five kilometres wide at the bar, and could be ascended by boats nearly two hundred and forty kilometres, which circumstance gave to the six coral islets off its entrance a value they would not have had in another position. There was a good roadstead between the bar of the river and the island Mafamede, which was a mere crown of sand on a coral reef above sea level.

The Primeiras islands were nothing more than a row of coral hummocks extending northward from latitude 17° 18′ in a line parallel with the coast. In the channel between them and the mainland there were places where a pangayo could find shelter to refit, or during the prevalence of contrary winds.

At Mozambique the direction of the coast line had changed from nearly north and south to north-east and south-west, and the aspect of the land had altered also. Thence to Cape Correntes as far as the eye could reach nothing was visible but a low flat tract, bordered along the sea by sand hills from fifteen to one hundred and eighty metres high, with here and there a dark-coloured rock. In latitude 18° south the mouth of the Kilimane, or Quilimane, river was reached. This was the northernmost of the several outlets of the great river Zambesi, which therefore bounded the delta on that side. The other large outlets were the Luabo and the Kuama, but there were many smaller ones, a distance of a hundred and sixty kilometres separating the extreme southern from the extreme northern mouth, while the inland extremity of the delta, where the river began to fork, was over eighty kilometres in a straight line from the sea. In later years this whole tract of land and water was termed by the Portuguese the Rivers of Kuama, the largest of the islands in the delta bearing that name.

* Spelt also Angoxa, Angozha, and Angoche.

If an accurate survey of the delta and its streams had been made in any one year, in the next it would have been imperfect, and in a decade misleading, for two causes were constantly operating to alter the features of land and water. In the rainy season the Zambesi, which stretched nearly across the continent, poured down a flood bearing sand, soil, and gravel, which spread over great areas, blocked up old channels, tore away huge fragments of islands, and opened new passages in every direction. When the flood subsided, former landmarks were gone, and where vessels had sailed the year before sand flats alone were seen. The Kilimane arm in the year 1500 was the best entrance into the Zambesi during six months of the year, in 1900 its upper course is much higher than the bed of the great river farther inland, of which it is no longer regarded as an outlet. The other cause of change was the mangrove. This tree, with its gloomy dark-green foliage, grew only on the confines of land and water, where it spread out its roots like gigantic snakes, intertwining and retaining in their folds the ooze and slime that would otherwise have been borne away. Sand was blown up by the wind or deposited when the currents were gentle, vegetable mould accumulated, the inner line of the swamp became soil on which grass and herbs could grow, and the mangrove spread farther out to reclaim ever more and more land from the shallow water. So the floods washed away and reformed, and the mangrove bound together and extended, in the ever varying scene.

How far up the Zambesi the Mohamedans were accustomed to go cannot be ascertained with precision. They had a small settlement on its southern bank where the Portuguese village of Sena now stands, about two hundred and twenty-five kilometres from the sea, but it is doubtful whether they had any fixed post farther inland, though travelling traders probably penetrated the country to a great distance. About three hundred and seventy-eight kilometres from the sea the great river passed through the Lupata gorge, a narrow cleft

in the range that separates the interior plain from the coast belt, where the rapids were so strong that they may not have cared to go beyond them with their boats, though the Portuguese afterwards navigated the stream up to the Kebrabasa rapids, about thirty-two kilometres above Tete, or five hundred and twelve kilometres from the sea.

At the mouth of the Pungwe river, where Beira now stands, there was a very small Mohamedan trading settlement, perhaps not a permanent one, and only at best an outpost of Sofala.

Sofala, the most important station south of Kilwa, was in latitude 20° 10′. It was at the mouth of an estuary not quite three kilometres wide from the northern bank to an island named Inyansata, between which and the southern bank there was only a narrow and shallow stream when the tide was low. Across the entrance of the estuary was a shifting bar of sand, which prevented large vessels from crossing, and inside there were so many shoals that navigation was at all times dangerous. The land to a great distance was low and swampy, and the banks of the estuary were fringed with belts of mangrove, so that the place was a hotbed of fever and dysentery. Farther in the interior the stream was of no great size, but it was always bringing down material to add to the deposits of sand and mud above the bar. The sole redeeming feature was a high rise of tide, often nearly six metres at full moon, so that when the wind was fair it was accessible for any vessels then used in the Indian trade. Along the coast was a great shoal or bank like a submerged terrace, extending far into the sea, upon which the waves ran so high at times and the currents were so strong that the locality was greatly dreaded by the mariners of olden days. But all these drawbacks were disregarded in view of the fact that gold was to be obtained here in exchange for merchandise of little value.

At Sofala there were two villages: one close to the sea, on a sand flat forming the north-eastern point, contained about four hundred inhabitants; the other, about three

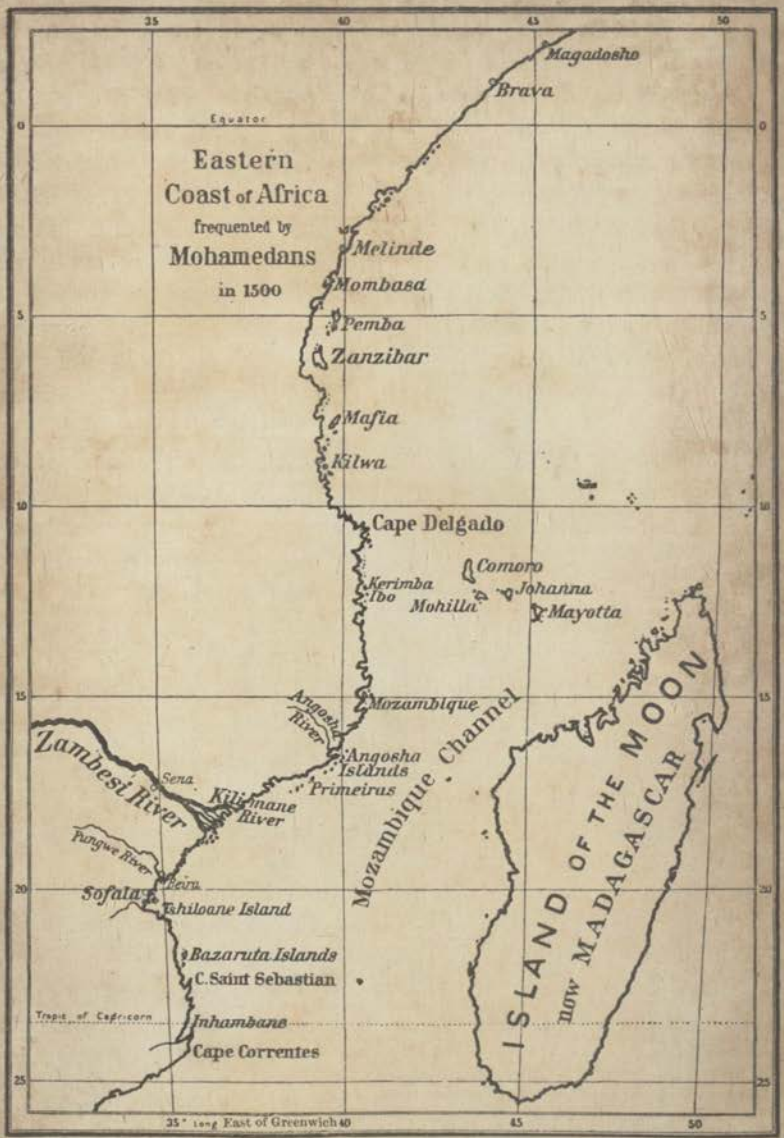
kilometres higher up the bank of the estuary, also contained about four hundred residents. The sheik lived in the last named. His dwelling house was constructed of poles planted in the ground, between which wattles were woven and then plastered with clay. It was thatched, and contained several apartments, one of considerable size which could be used as a hall of state. The floor, like that of Bantu huts, was made of antheaps moistened and stamped. It was covered with mats, and the room occupied by the sheik was hung with silk, but was poorly furnished according to modern European ideas. This was the grandest dwelling house in Africa south of the Zambesi, indeed the only one of its size and form, in the first year of the sixteenth century.

The island of Tshiloane* lay partly in the mouth of the Ingomiamo river, in latitude 20° 37′ south. The island was about nine kilometres and a half long by five wide, but a great part of it was a mangrove swamp. The channel into the Ingomiamo on the northern side of the island, now called Port Singune, was used as a harbour by an occasional pangayo or zambuco that put in to trade.

The Bazaruta islands were of much greater importance, for there were the pearl-oyster beds which yielded gems as much coveted by the Arabs and Persians as by the people of Europe and India. There were five islands in this group, stretching over forty-eight kilometres along the coast northward from the cape now called Saint Sebastian, which is in latitude 22° 5′ south. The principal island, from which the group takes its name, is twenty-nine kilometres in length.

The last place to the southward frequented by the Mohamedans was the river Nyambana, or Inhambane, the mouth of which is in latitude 23° 45′ south. They had a small settlement where the Portuguese village now stands, twenty-two kilometres by the channel, though only thirteen in a direct line, above the bar. The river was easy of

* Variously spelt Chiluan, Chilwan, Chuluwan, Kiloane, &c.



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access, and formed an excellent harbour. It was navigable for boats about eight kilometres farther up than the settlement, which formed a good centre for collecting ivory, an article always in demand in India. This place was reputed to be the healthiest on the whole coast.

Beyond Cape Correntes, in latitude 24° 4′ south, the Arabs and Persians did not venture in their coir-sewn vessels. Here the Mozambique current, from which the cape has its present name, ran southward with great velocity, usually from two to five kilometres an hour, according to the force and direction of the wind, but often much faster. The cape had the reputation also of being a place of storms, where the regular monsoons of the north could no longer be depended upon, and where violent gusts from every quarter would almost surely destroy the mariners who should be so foolhardy as to brave them. The vivid Arab imagination further pictured danger of another kind, for this was the chosen home of those mermaids — believed in also by the Greeks of old—who lured unfortunate men to their doom. So Cape Correntes, with its real and fictitious perils, was the terminus of Mohamedan enterprise to the south, though there were men in Kilwa who sometimes wondered what was beyond it and half made up their minds to go over land and see.

CHAPTER IX.

DISCOVERY OF AN OCEAN ROUTE TO INDIA.

THE discovery of an ocean route from Europe to India, followed by the establishment of the Portuguese as the preponderating power in the East, is one of the greatest events in the history of the world. It is not too much to say that every state of Central and Western Europe was affected by it. The time was critical, for the Turks were then menacing Christendom, and if they had secured a monopoly of the Indian trade their wealth and strength would have been so augmented that it is doubtful whether they might not have succeeded in entering Vienna in 1529. As yet the Moslem power was divided, for Egypt was still under the Mameluke rulers, and the greater portion of the Indian products that found their way to Europe was obtained by the Venetians at Alexandria. To that city they were conveyed in boats down the Nile from Cairo, after being carried by camels from the shore of the Red sea, whither they were brought by ships from the coast of Malabar. From this traffic Alexandria had thriven greatly, and from it too Venice,—whose citizens distributed over Europe the silk and cotton fabrics, pepper, and spices of the East,—had become wealthy and powerful. That portion of the Indian merchandise which was brought overland by caravans from the Persian gulf to the Mediterranean coast was under the control of the Turks, and a few years later, when in 1517 the sultan Selim overthrew the Mamelukes and made Egypt a province of his dominions, the whole would have been theirs if the Portuguese had not just in time forestalled them.

In the early years of the fifteenth century the Christian nations were little acquainted with distant countries, America and Australia were entirely unknown, Eastern Asia was very imperfectly laid down on the maps, and the greater part of Africa had never been explored. This continent might have terminated north of the equator, for anything that the most learned men in Europe knew to the contrary. The Portuguese were at this time the most adventurous seamen of the world, and they were the first to attempt to discover an ocean highway round Africa to the East. Under direction of a justly celebrated prince of their royal family, Henrique by name,—known to us as Henry the Navigator—fleets were fitted out which gradually crept down the western coast until the shores of Senegambia were reached. In 1434 Cape Bojador was passed for the first time, in 1441 Cape Blanco was seen by Europeans, and in 1445 Cape Verde was rounded by Diniz Dias.

Then, until after the death of Prince Henrique—13th of November 1460—discovery practically ceased. The lucrative slave trade occupied the minds of the sea captains, and ships freighted with negroes taken captive in raids, or purchased from conquering chiefs, frequently entered the harbours of Portugal. The commerce in human flesh was regarded as highly meritorious, because it brought heathens to a knowledge of Christianity. But never has a mistake or a crime led to more disastrous results, for to the introduction of negroes as labourers in the southern provinces of Portugal the decline of the kingdom in power and importance is mainly due.

The exploring expeditions which Prince Henrique never ceased to encourage, but which the greed of those who were in his service had turned into slave hunting voyages, were resumed after his death. In 1461 the coast of the present republic of Liberia was reached, and in 1471 the equator was crossed. King João II, who ascended the throne in 1481, was as resolute as his grand-uncle the Navigator in endeavouring to discover an ocean road to India. He had

not indeed any idea of the great consequences that would follow, his object being simply to divert the eastern trade from Venice to Lisbon, which would be effected if an unbroken sea route could be found. In 1484 he sent out a fleet under Diogo Cam, which reached the mouth of the Congo, and in the following year the same officer made a greater advance than any previous explorer could boast of, for he pushed on southward as far as Cape Cross, where the marble pillar which he set up to mark the extent of his voyage remained standing more than four hundred years.

The next expedition sent in the same direction solved the secret concerning the extent of the African continent. It was under the chief command of an officer named Bartholomeu Dias, of whose previous career unfortunately nothing can now be ascertained except that he was a gentleman of the king's household and receiver of customs at Lisbon when the appointment was conferred upon him, and that he had at some former time taken part in exploring the coast. At the end of August 1486 he sailed from the Tagus with two vessels of about fifty tons each, according to the Portuguese measurement of the time, though they would probably be rated much higher now. He had also a small storeship with him, for previous expeditions had often been obliged to turn back from want of food.

The officers who were to serve under him were carefully selected, and were skilful in their professions. They were:—Leitão (probably a nickname) sailing master, and Pedro d'Alanquer pilot of the flag ship; João Infante captain, João Grego sailing master, and Alvaro Martins pilot of the *São Pantaleão;* and Pedro Dias, brother of the commodore, captain, João Alves sailing master, and João de Santiago pilot of the storeship. On board the squadron were four negresses—convicts—from the coast of Guinea, who were to be set ashore at different places to make discoveries and report to the next white men they should see. This was a common practice at the time, the persons selected being

criminals under sentence of death, who were glad to escape immediate execution by risking anything that might befal them in an unknown and barbarous country. In this instance women were chosen, as it was considered likely they would be protected by the natives. It was hoped that through their means a powerful Christian prince called Prester John, who was believed to reside in the interior, might come to learn of the greatness of the Portuguese monarchy and that efforts were being made to reach him, so that he might send messengers to the coast to communicate with the explorers. King João and his courtiers believed that if this mythical Prester John could but be found, he would point out the way to India.

Dias, like all preceding explorers, kept close to the coast on his way southward. Somewhere near the equator he left the storeship with nine men to look after her, and then continued his course until he reached an inlet or small harbour with a group of islets at its entrance, the one now called Angra Pequena or Little Bay, but which he named Angra dos Ilheos, the Bay of the Islets. The latitude was believed to be 24° S., but in reality it was 26½°, so imperfect were the means then known for determining it. There he cast anchor, and for the first time Christian men trod the soil of Africa south of the tropic.

A more desolate place than that on which the weary seamen landed could hardly be, and no mention is made by the early Portuguese historians of any sign of human life being observed as far as the explorers wandered. Unfortunately the original journal or log-book of the expedition has long since disappeared, so that much that would be intensely interesting now can never be known. But this is certain, that refreshment there could have been none, except fish and the eggs and flesh of sea-fowl that made their nests on the islets. It was no place in which to tarry long. Before he left, Dias set up a marble cross some two metres or so in height, on an eminence that he named Serra Parda, the Grey Mountain, as a token that he had taken

possession of the country for his king. For more than three hundred years that cross stood there above the dreary waste, just as the brave Portuguese explorer erected it. The place where it stood so long is called Pedestal Point. Here one of the negresses was left, almost certainly to perish, when the expedition moved onward.

From Angra Pequena Dias tried to keep the land in sight, but as it was the season of the south-east winds, which were contrary, he could not make rapid progress. At length by repeatedly tacking he reached an inlet to which he gave the name Angra das Voltas, the Bay of the Turnings. There is a curve in the land in the position indicated, 29° S., but the latitudes given are not to be depended upon, and the expedition may have been far from it and farther still from the point at the mouth of the Orange river called by modern geographers Cape Voltas, in remembrance of that event. At Angra das Voltas, wherever it was, Dias remained five days, as the weather was unfavourable for sailing, and before he left another of the negresses was set on shore.

After making sail again heavy weather was encountered and a boisterous sea, such as ships often experience in that part of the ocean, and which is caused by the cold Antarctic current being slightly deflected by some means from its usual course and striking the hot Mozambique current at a right angle off the Cape of Good Hope. Very miserable Dias and his companions must have been in their tiny vessels among the tremendous billows, with the sails close reefed, and hardly a hope of escape from being lost. But after thirteen days the weather moderated, and then they steered eastward, expecting soon to see the coast again. For several days they sailed in this direction, but as no land appeared Dias concluded that he must have passed the extremity of the continent. It was so, for on turning to the north he reached the shore at an inlet which he named Angra dos Vaqueiros, the bay of the Herdsmen, on account of the numerous droves of cattle which he saw grazing on its shores. It was probably the same inlet that was named

by the next expedition the Watering Place of São Bras, and which since 1601 has been known as Mossel Bay. The inhabitants gazed with astonishment upon the strange apparition coming over the sea, and then fled inland with their cattle, so that it was not found possible to have any intercourse with the wild people. Thus no information concerning the inhabitants of the South African coast, except that they had domestic cattle in their possession, was obtained by this expedition.

How long Dias remained at Angra dos Vaqueiros is not known, but his vessels, good sea-boats as they had proved to be, must have needed some refitting, so he was probably there several days at least. He and his officers were in high spirits, as, unless they were in another deep bay like the gulf of Guinea, they had solved the question of a sea route to India. As far as their eyes could reach, the shore stretched east and west, so, sailing again, they continued along it until they came to an uninhabited islet in latitude $33\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ S. This islet is in Algoa Bay as now termed — the Bahia da Lagoa of the Portuguese after the middle of the sixteenth century,—and still bears in the French form of St. Croix the name Ilheo da Santa Cruz, the islet of the Holy Cross, which he gave it on account of the pillar bearing a cross and the arms of Portugal which he erected upon it.

Dias visited the mainland, where he observed two women gathering shellfish, who were left unmolested, as the king had issued instructions that no cause of offence should be given to the inhabitants of any countries discovered. Here the last of the negresses was set ashore, as one had died on the passage. The coast was examined some distance to the eastward, and to a prominent rock upon it the name Penedo das Fontes, the Rock of the Fountains, was given by some of the people, because two springs of water were found there.

Here the seamen protested against going farther. They complained that their supply of food was running short, and the storeship was far behind, so that there was danger

of perishing from hunger. They thought they had surely done sufficient in one voyage, for they were two thousand six hundred kilometres beyond the terminus of the preceding expedition, and no one had ever taken such tidings to Portugal as they would carry back. Further, from the trending of the coast it was evident there must be some great headland behind them, and therefore they were of opinion it would be better to turn about and look for it. One can hardly blame them for their protest, considering the fatigue and peril they had gone through and the wretchedly uncomfortable life they must have been leading.

Dias, after hearing these statements, took the officers and some of the principal seamen on shore, where he administered an oath to them, after which he asked their opinion as to what was the best course to pursue for the service of the king. They replied with one voice, to return home, whereupon he caused them to sign a document to that effect. He then begged of them to continue only two or three days' sail farther, and promised that if they should find nothing within that time to encourage them to proceed on an easterly course, he would put about. The crews consented, but in the time agreed upon they advanced only to the mouth of a river to which the commander gave the name Infante, owing to João Infante, captain of the *São Pantaleão*, being the first to leap ashore. The river was probably the Fish, but may have been either the Kowie or the Keiskama as known to us. Its mouth was stated to be twenty-five leagues from the islet of the Cross, and to be in latitude $32\frac{2}{3}°$ S., which was very incorrect.

But now, notwithstanding this error, there should have been no doubt in any mind that they had reached the end of the southern seaboard, which in a distance of over nine hundred kilometres does not vary a hundred and seventy kilometres in latitude. The coast before them trended away to the north-east in a bold, clear line, free of the haze that almost always hung over the western shore. And down it, only a short distance from the land, flowed a swift ocean

current many degrees warmer than the water on either side, and revealing itself even to a careless eye by its deeper blue. That current could only come from a heated sea in the north, and so they might have known that the eastern side of Africa had surely been reached.

Whether the explorers observed these signs the Portuguese writers who recorded their deeds do not inform us, but from the river Infante the expedition turned back. At Santa Cruz Dias landed again, and bade farewell to the cross which he had set up there with as much sorrow as if he was parting with a son banished for life. In returning, the great headland was discovered, to which the commander gave the name Cabo Tormentoso—the Stormy Cape—afterwards changed by the king to Cabo de Boa Esperança—Cape of Good Hope—owing to the fair prospect which he could now entertain of India being at last reached by this route. What particular part of the peninsula Dias landed upon is unknown, but somewhere upon it he set up another of the marble pillars he had brought from Portugal, to which he gave the name São Philippe. The country about it he did not explore, as his provisions were so scanty that he was anxious to get away. Keeping along the coast, after nine months' absence the storeship was rejoined, when only three men were found on board of her, and of these, one, Fernão Colaça by name, died of joy upon seeing his countrymen again. The other six had been murdered by negroes with whom they were trading.

Having replenished his stock of provisions, Dias set fire to the storeship, as she was in need of refitting and he had not men to work her; and then sailed to Prince's Island in the bight of Biafra, where he found some Portuguese in distress. A gentleman of the king's household, named Duarte Pacheco, had been sent to explore the rivers on that part of the coast, but had lost his vessel, and was then lying ill at the island with part of the crew who had escaped from the wreck. Dias took them all on board, and, pursuing his course in a north-westerly direction, touched at a river where

trade was carried on, and also at the fort of São Jorge da Mina, an established Portuguese factory, of which João Fogaça was then commander. Here he took a large of the gold that had been collected, after which he proceeded on his way to Lisbon, where he arrived in December 1487, sixteen months and seventeen days from the time of his setting out.

No other dates than those mentioned are given by the early Portuguese historians, thus the exact time of the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope and the coast onward to the mouth of the Infante river is doubtful, and it can only be stated as having occurred in the early months of 1487. The voyage surely was a memorable one, and nothing but regret can be expressed that more of its details cannot be recovered. Of the three pillars set up by Dias, two—those of the Holy Cross and São Philippe — disappeared, no one has ever been able to ascertain when or how; that of São Thiago at Angra Pequena remained where it was placed until it was broken down by some unknown vandals in the nineteenth century.

Meantime the king sent two men named Affonso de Paiva, of Castelbranco, and João Pires, of Covilhão, in another direction to search for Prester John. For this purpose they left Santarem on the 7th of May 1487, and, being well provided with money, they proceeded first to Naples, then to the island of Rhodes, and thence to Alexandria. They were both conversant with the Arabic language, and had no difficulty in passing for Moors. At Alexandria they were detained some time by illness, but upon recovering they proceeded to Cairo, and thence in the disguise of merchants to Tor, Suakin, and Aden. Here they separated, Affonso de Paiva having resolved to visit Abyssinia to ascertain if the monarch of that country was not the potentate they were in search of, and João Pires taking passage in a vessel bound to Cananor on the Malabar coast. They arranged, however, to meet again in Cairo at a time fixed upon.

João Pires reached Cananor in safety, and went down the coast as far as Calicut, after which he proceeded upwards to Goa. Here he embarked in a vessel bound to Sofala, and having visited that port, he returned to Aden, and at the time appointed was back in Cairo, where he learned that Affonso de Paiva had died not long before. At Cairo he found two Portuguese Jews, Rabbi Habrão, of Beja, and Josepe, a shoemaker of Lamego. Josepe had been in Bagdad, on the Euphrates, some years previously, and had there heard of Ormuz, at the mouth of the Persian gulf, and of its being the warehouse of the Indian trade and the point of departure for caravans to Aleppo and Damascus. He had returned to Portugal and informed the king of what he had learned, who thereupon sent him and Habrão with letters of instruction to Affonso de Paiva and João Pires, directing them if they had not already found Prester John, to proceed to Ormuz and gather all the information they could there.

Upon receiving this order João Pires drew up an account of what he had seen and learned in India and on the African coast, which he gave to Josepe to convey to the king, and taking Habrão with him, he proceeded to Aden and thence to Ormuz. From Ormuz Habrão set out with a caravan for Aleppo on his way back to Portugal with a duplicate of the narrative sent to the king by Josepe. None of the early Portuguese historians who had access to the records of the country ever saw this narrative, so that probably neither of the Jews lived to deliver his charge. Not a single date is given in the early accounts of this journey, except that of the departure from Santarem, which De Goes fixes as May 1486 and Castanheda and De Barros as the 7th of May 1487. There is no trace of any knowledge in Portugal of the commerce of Sofala before the return of Vasco da Gama in 1499, but as such a journey as that described must in the fifteenth century have occupied several years, it is just possible that Josepe or Habrão reached Lisbon after that date.

João Pires went from Ormuz by way of Aden to Abyssinia, where he was well received by the ruler of that country. Here, after all his wanderings he found a home, for as he was not permitted to leave again, he married and had children, living upon property given to him by the government. In 1515 Dom Rodrigo de Lima arrived in Abyssinia as ambassador of the king of Portugal, and found him still alive. With the embassy was a priest, Francisco Alvares by name, who wrote an account of the mission and of the statement made to him by João Pires, and also gave such information on his return home as enabled the Portuguese historians to place on record the above details. As far as actual result in increase of geographical knowledge is concerned, this expedition of Affonso de Paiva and João Pires, of Covilhão, therefore effected nothing.

Upon the return of Dias to Portugal with information that he had discovered the southern extremity of Africa and found an open sea stretching away to the eastward from the farthest point he had reached, King João II resolved to send another expedition to follow up the grand pathway of exploration which now offered so fair a prospect of an ocean route to India being found at last. But at that time things were not done as quickly as now, and there was besides much else to occupy the monarch's attention. The outlay too would be considerable, as ships would have to be built specially to withstand the stormy seas off the Cape of Good Hope, and the kingdom was then by no means wealthy. Orders, however, were given to the chief huntsman, João de Bragança, to collect the necessary timber, and by the year 1494 it was ready at Lisbon. Whether anything further was done towards the construction of the vessels before the death of the king, which took place at Alvor on the 25th of October 1495, is not certain; but probably some progress had been made, as a commander in chief of the intended expedition was selected in the person of Estevão da Gama, chief alcaide of the town of Sinis.

King João II having no legitimate son, was succeeded by his first cousin Dom Manuel, duke of Beja, who possessed a full measure of that fondness for prosecuting maritime discoveries which for three-quarters of a century had distinguished the princes of Portugal. Within a year of his accession the subject of making another attempt to reach India by sea was mooted at several general councils held at New Montemor, but met with strong opposition. There were those who urged that Portugal was not strong enough to conquer and keep possession of such a distant country should it be reached, that too much public treasure had already been thrown away in fitting out exploring ships, that no adequate return had yet been made, and that even if a route to India should be opened, it would only bring powerful rivals into the field at least to share its commerce. Those of the nobles, however, who were anxious to please the king favoured the design, and at length it was resolved to send out another expedition.

Accordingly under direction of Bartholomeu Dias two ships were built with the timber that was ready, his experience enabling him to point out where they required special strengthening. Very clumsy indeed they would be considered now, with their bluff bows like the breast of a duck, broad square sterns, lofty poops and forecastles, low waists, and great length of beam; but they were staunch sea boats, capable of receiving without damage the buffeting of the furious waves they were intended to encounter. The larger of the two, named the *São Gabriel*, was rated as of one hundred and twenty tons, and the smaller, named the *São Rafael*, as of one hundred; but a Portuguese ton of that period, as has already been observed, was probably much larger than an English ton of our times, and from their build they would be able to carry a great deal more than their registered capacity would denote. They were fitted with three masts, the fore and main each carrying two square sails, and the mizen a lateen projecting far over the stern. Under the bowsprit, the outer end of which was so greatly elevated that

it was almost like a fourth mast, was a square spritsail, which completed the spread of canvas. Jibs and staysails there were none, nor anything but a flag above the topsail yards. Such was the build and rig of vessels from which the graceful barques of our time have been evolved. To accompany these ships a stout caravel was purchased from a man named Berrio, whose name it bore. A storeship of two hundred tons burden was also purchased by the king from one Ayres Correa, of Lisbon, so that a supply of provisions sufficient for three years might be taken by the expedition.

Spare spars, sails, and rigging were placed on board the ships, as also samples of various kinds of merchandise and many articles that could be used for presentation to such potentates as might be found. In all respects the fleet was thus as well fitted out as was possible at that period. When all was ready the vessels dropped down the Tagus to Rastello and anchored in front of Belem, with a caravel under command of Bartholomeu Dias, which was to accompany them to the Cape Verde islands, and after seeing them on their course in safety, proceed to São Jorge da Mina.

Estevão da Gama was now dead, so King Manuel offered the chief command of the expedition to his eldest son Paulo da Gama. He, however, respectfully declined on account of a complaint from which he was suffering, and asked to have the second place, in which the responsibility would be less, and that his younger brother Vasco might be appointed commander in chief. The king consented, and in January 1497 summoned Vasco da Gama to Estremoz, where he was then residing, and conferred the highest post in the expedition upon him.

Vasco da Gama is the hero of Portugal, because he was successful in reaching India, and because his exploits were the theme of the famous poem of Luis de Camões. And if intrepidity, energy, perseverance under difficulties, and intense application to duty are the qualities that constitute greatness, he was beyond question one of the foremost that

ever lived. But he was far from being a lovable man. Cold, harsh, stern, severe in punishing, fearful when in a passion, he was obeyed not from affection, but because of his commanding spirit. Perhaps if he had been as tender-hearted and humane as his brother Paulo he would not have succeeded in the great enterprise entrusted to him, where what was needed was an iron will. He was a man of medium height, at this time unmarried, and about thirty-seven years of age. He had served the late king at sea with much credit to himself, and was experienced in nautical matters.

Shortly before setting sail the king presented to him a silken banner, having on it a cross of the order of Christ, when he made the usual homage and swore to execute the trust confided to him to the best of his ability. All being ready for sea, and only waiting for a fair wind, he and the other officers repaired to the hermitage of our Lady of Bethlehem, where they passed some time in devotion. On the morning of Saturday the 8th of July 1497, not quite five years after Columbus sailed from Palos to discover a new continent in the west, the wind was favourable, so they prepared to leave. At the hermitage a procession was formed of friars and priests from Lisbon, a large number of people from the city, and Vasco da Gama and his companions carrying tapers; and chanting a litany, they proceeded to the shore where the boats were in waiting. All knelt down while the vicar of the hermitage pronounced an absolution, and then with the echo of these closing rites of religion in their ears Da Gama and his associates embarked. The sails were unfurled, and the five vessels stood away. As was afterwards ascertained, it was not the proper time of the year to set out, but nothing was then known of the periodical monsoons in the Indian sea or of the prevailing summer and winter winds off the African coast.

On board the *São Gabriel*, which was the flagship, was Vasco da Gama himself, and with him as sailing master

was Gonçalo Alvares, and as chief pilot Pedro d'Alanquer, who had been with Bartholomeu Dias to the river Infante. Diogo Dias, a brother of Bartholomeu, accompanied him as secretary. Of the *São Rafael* Paulo da Gama was captain, João de Coimbra was pilot, and João de Sá secretary. Of the *Berrio* Nicolau Coelho was captain, Pedro Escolar was pilot, and Alvaro de Braga secretary. Of the storeship Gonçalo Nunes was captain. The number of men on board the four vessels is given by Castanheda as one hundred and forty-eight and by Barros as about one hundred and seventy, between soldiers and sailors. The discrepancy may be accounted for by the officers not being included by the first writer. A friar of the Holy Trinity, named Pedro de Cobilhões, accompanied the expedition as chaplain, and a number of criminals were sent with it to be put on shore in remote and dangerous places to gather information. Probably the criminals were not included in either of the numbers given above.

The Cape Verde islands were appointed as a rendezvous in case the vessels should be separated by any accident, and this actually happened in a storm after passing the Canaries, but eight days later they came together again, and on the 28th of July cast anchor off Santa Maria in the island of Santiago. Here they remained seven days taking in water and repairing the damages sustained in the storm. On Thursday the 3rd of August they again set sail, and soon afterwards Bartholomeu Dias bade Da Gama farewell, and steered towards São Jorge da Mina.

All preceding expeditions in this direction had kept close to the coast, thereby losing much time; but Da Gama adopted a bolder plan. The longitude of the Cape of Good Hope being unknown, he could not steer directly for it, but by keeping almost due south he could run down his latitude, and then if necessary steer eastward where the degrees of the smaller circle were shorter. Holding this course during the months of August, September, and October, during which time they were often in peril from boisterous weather, but

always managed to keep together, the four vessels turned eastward when it was believed they were in or near the latitude of the Cape, and on Saturday the 4th of November the South African coast was first seen. They ran in close, but as it did not offer a fitting place for anchoring, they stood off again, and continued sailing along it until Tuesday the 7th, when they discovered a deep curve which would provide sufficient shelter. The pilot Pedro d'Alanquer did not know the place, not having seen it in his earlier voyage, but they dropped their anchors in it, and gave it the name St. Helena Bay, which it still bears. It is about one hundred and ninety-three kilometres, or one hundred and twenty English miles, north of the Cape of Good Hope.

Here Da Gama went on shore, but found the land sterile and apparently uninhabited. He was in want of water, and as none could be discovered, he sent Nicolau Coelho in a boat along the coast to seek for the mouth of a stream. At a distance of about twenty-seven kilometres from the ships Coelho came to the outlet of a river, to which the name São Thiago was given. It is now known as the Berg. Here they procured water, fuel, and the flesh of seals, there being a great number of these animals on the shore.

To ascertain the position of the place Da Gama took a wooden instrument for measuring the angle of the sun's altitude to land, where it could be fixed more steadily on a tripod than on board ship. It would be interesting to know just what kind of instrument this was, but that cannot be ascertained. Barros terms it a wooden astrolabe, —which it can hardly have been,—and says that he has described it in his *Geography*, a book now unfortunately lost. Probably it was a kind of cross staff, several varieties of which were in common use at a little later date, but this is only conjecture. A method of using the brass astrolabe at sea had been devised in 1480 by two physicians of King João II, one of whom was a Jew, in association with the astronomer Martin Behaim, of Nuremberg, and tables of the sun's declination had been drawn up for the purpose. But

the astrolabe, beautiful an instrument as it was,* gave very imperfect results, except in calm weather and when the angle observed was large. A century and a quarter later the celebrated navigator John Davis described its utility at sea as small in comparison with that of the cross staff. Da Gama had several brass astrolabes with him, but he placed no reliance upon them, and so with this wooden instrument, whatever it was, he went on shore to make observations. While he was thus engaged, some of his people observed two savages who appeared to be gathering herbs and honey at the foot of a hill, as each had a firebrand with him. Surrounding them quietly and stealthily, one was captured, who appeared greatly terrified on being made a prisoner by such strange beings as Europeans must have been to him.

He was taken to Da Gama, who was desirous of gathering as much information about the country as possible, and particularly of ascertaining how far distant was the Cape of Good Hope; but no one in the fleet could understand a word of what he said. He was kept on board ship that night, and ate and drank freely of the food that was set before him. Two boys, one of whom was a negro, were placed with him as companions, but could only communicate with him by signs. The next day he was provided with one or two articles of clothing, and some trinkets were given to him, after which he was set at liberty. This kind of treatment made such a favourable impression upon him and his countrymen that it was not long before a party of fifteen or twenty made an appearance. Vasco da Gama pleased them greatly with presents of pewter rings, little bells, beads, and other articles of trifling value, but he could obtain by signs no information of any kind from them, nor did they show the slightest knowledge or appreciation of the samples of gold, silver, pearls, and spices which he exhibited to them.

* There is a very fine collection from different countries in the British Museum, that institution of which every Englishman has such just reason to be proud.

In the description given of these people there is but one observation that shows they were Hottentots of the beach-ranger class, not Bushmen, which is that among their weapons were assagais or shafts of wood pointed with bone or horn, which they used as lances or darts. They were small in stature, ill favoured in countenance, and darkish in colour. Their dress was a kaross of skin. When speaking they used so many gestures that they appeared to be rolling or staggering about. Their food consisted of wild roots, seals, whales that washed up on the coast, seabirds, and every kind of land animal or bird that they could capture. They had no domestic animal but the dog. This description would apply to Bushmen as well as to beachranger Hottentots, if the weapon had not been mentioned, and perhaps the kaross, which is said to have been worn like a French cloak, and was probably therefore composed of several skins sewn together, whereas the Bushman was satisfied with one.

A friendly intercourse having been kept up with these savages for a couple of days, a soldier named Fernão Veloso requested leave to accompany them to their place of residence when they were preparing to return to it. This was granted, with the object of his obtaining some knowledge of the style of their habitations and of the condition of the country about their kraal, which was believed to be at a distance of about thirteen or fourteen kilometres. On the way a seal was captured and eaten, and then Veloso, though the most arrant braggart of his exploits and his bravery in the whole fleet, became suspicious of some evil design against himself. There is no proof of treachery of any kind on the part of the Hottentots, but when people cannot understand each other distrust arises easily. Veloso began to retrace his steps in great haste, and was followed by the Hottentots, who could certainly easily have overtaken him if they had wished to do so. That they did not is a strong indication that they were acting from curiosity rather than enmity.

Nicolau Coelho was in a boat near the shore when Veloso was seen running towards the embarking place, shouting loudly for help; but he and the others with him rather enjoyed the spectacle, on account of the man's boastful disposition. Da Gama was seated at table at his evening meal when through the window of the cabin he saw a commotion on shore, and immediately got into a boat and was rowed towards the beach to ascertain what was the matter. Some of the officers of the *São Gabriel* and of the other vessels followed. On the first boat reaching the shore, two of the savages went towards it, but were driven back with their faces covered with blood. Then followed a skirmish, in which Vasco da Gama himself, Gonçalo Alvares, and two sailors were slightly wounded with the stones, assagais, and arrows showered upon them by the Hottentots. The white men, on their part, made use of their crossbows, and believed they caused some execution with them. Though in all the Portuguese accounts the savages are charged with treachery, the whole affair appears to have arisen through a mistake, as Fernão Veloso remained uninjured, and was taken safely on board.

In this bay of St. Helena crayfish were found in great abundance, which must have proved a very welcome relief to men so long confined to salted provisions. Some fish were also secured with the hook, and a whale was captured, which nearly cost the lives of Paulo da Gama and a boat's crew. They had fastened the harpoon line to an immovable thwart of the boat, and the whale in its struggles would have pulled them gunwale under and swamped them if it had not fortunately for them grounded in shallow water.

On the morning of Thursday the 16th of November Da Gama set sail from St. Helena Bay. At this time of the year the wind is usually dead ahead for vessels on his course, but on this occasion it was blowing from the south-south-west, so that he was able to run along the coast with his yards sharply braced. On Saturday afternoon he saw the Cape of Good Hope, but thought it prudent to stand away

on the other tack for the night, and therefore did not double it until Monday the 20th. All on board were in high spirits and made merry as well as they could, for instead of the stormy seas they had expected to encounter here, the weather was so fine that they could keep close to the land on their eastward course, and had sight of people and cattle upon it.

On Sunday the 26th of November the fleet reached the inlet termed by Da Gama the Watering Place of São Bras, now Mossel Bay. Here, after they had been several days at anchor, a number of Hottentots appeared, some — men and women — riding on pack oxen. They were very friendly, for on Da Gama's going on shore they received with much pleasure the bawbles which he presented to them, and exchanged some of their ivory armrings for scarlet caps. Afterwards more arrived, bringing a few sheep, which were obtained in barter. The Portuguese listened with pleasure to the tunes which these Hottentots played with reeds, their usual way of entertaining strangers. Treachery, however, was suspected, and quarrels arose, so after a while Da Gama moved from his first anchorage to another to get away from the wild people, but they followed him along the shore, upon which he fired at them to frighten them, when they fled inland.

The little island in the bay was found covered with seals and penguins. While at anchor here Da Gama set up on the high southern point a pillar having on it a cross and the arms of Portugal, but the Hottentots broke it down before he left. Everything was now removed from the storeship to the other vessels, and she was then burned, as there was no further need for her. Having taken in water, on Friday the 8th of December, after a detention of thirteen days, the *São Gabriel*, *São Rafael*, and *Berrio* sailed from the watering place of São Bras, and proceeded on their course eastward.

Shortly afterwards a storm arose, which caused great terror to the seamen, but the wind was from the westward, so they ran before it under short canvas until the 16th of

December, when they found themselves at the low rocks now called the Bird islands, on the eastern side of Algoa Bay. Here the wind became light and variable, and after attaining a point considerably beyond the river Infante, the current carried them back again as far as the isle of the Cross. On the 20th, however, a westerly breeze set in, which enabled them to make good progress once more. They kept close to the land, and observed that it constantly improved in appearance, the trees becoming higher, and the cattle on the pastures more numerous. The green hills and forest-clad mountains formed indeed a striking contrast to the sterile waste they had seen at St. Helena Bay. On the 25th of December the charming country in sight was named by Da Gama Natal, in memory of the day when Christian men first saw it. It is uncertain what part of the coast he was then sailing along, the only indication—and that a very imperfect one, namely the distance run—given by any early Portuguese writer placing it a little north of the Umzimkulu river.

Wherever it was, from this point for some reason Da Gama stood out to sea, and was not in sight of the coast again until the 6th of January 1498, when he reached the mouth of a stream to which he gave the name Rio dos Reys, or River of the Kings, the day being the festival of the wise men or kings of the Roman calendar. By others, however, it was termed the Copper river, on account of the quantity of that metal found in use by the inhabitants, and it was subsequently known by both names. It was the Limpopo of our day.

It was observed from the ships that the people on shore were black and of large stature, so a man named Martin Affonso, who could speak several of the Bantu dialects of the western coast, was sent with a companion to gather information. He found them very friendly, and was soon able to understand a little of what they said to him, for he was quick of perception and many words in use there and on the coast of Guinea are almost identical. Having ascertained this, Da Gama sent the chief a present of some red

clothing and a copper bracelet, and so favourably disposed was every one that Martin Affonso and his companion remained on shore that night and were hospitably entertained. The next day a return present, consisting of a number of hens, was sent on board by the chief, and a friendly intercourse was thereupon established which remained unbroken until the Portuguese left. The article most in demand by these Bantu was linen cloth, for which they were willing to give a high price in copper. Owing to the manner in which he was treated, and to the provisions—chiefly millet—which he obtained in barter, Da Gama gave to the country the name Land of the Good People. Having taken in water, he set two of the convicts on shore to collect information to give him upon his return, and on the 15th of January sailed again.

He now kept away from the coast, fearing that he might be drawn by the currents into some deep bay from which it would be difficult to get out again, and saw nothing more of it until the 24th, when he arrived at the mouth of the Kilimané or Quilimane river. This he entered, and sailing up it he observed that the residents on its southern bank wore loin cloths and that they used canoes with mat sails. Some of them came on board the ships fearlessly, as if they were accustomed to see such objects, and several could speak a few words of Arabic, though they were not able to carry on a conversation in that language. Three days after the ships anchored a couple of chiefs came on board, one of whom wore a silken turban and the other a green satin cap. Among the people also were some lighter in colour than the others, who seemed to be partly of foreign blood. To the Portuguese these were evidences not to be mistaken of intercourse with more civilised men, so they gave to the stream the name River of Good Omens.

Finding the inhabitants friendly and disposed to barter, though Martin Affonso could not understand their dialect, Da Gama resolved to stay here some time and refit his ships. They were accordingly hove down, cleaned, recaulked, and

generally put in better condition than before. During this time, however, scurvy appeared among the people in a very bad form, and many died, while others suffered from fever. In this distress the humanity of Paulo da Gama was displayed in his visiting and comforting the sick, night and day, and liberally distributing among them the delicacies he had provided for his own use. The ships being ready, a pillar, bearing the name São Rafael, was set up, and two convicts were left behind when the fleet sailed, which was on the 24th of February. The *São Rafael* grounded on the bar when going out, but fortunately floated off unharmed with the rising tide.

Keeping well away from the land, Da Gama continued on his course until the afternoon of the 1st of March, when some islands were seen, and on the following morning seven or eight zambucos or small undecked sailing vessels were observed coming from one of them towards him. The anchors were immediately dropped, as the fleet was close to the island of St. George where the water was not deep, and soon the sound of kettle-drums was heard and the little vessels were alongside. The men in them were dark coloured, but were clothed with striped calico, and had silken turbans on their heads and scimitars and daggers at their sides. They entered the ships fearlessly, taking the Portuguese to be Mohamedans like themselves, and began to converse in Arabic, which language was familiar to one of the sailors named Fernão Martins. After being entertained at table, they stated that the island from which they came was named Mozambique, that it was subject to Kilwa, and was a place of considerable trade with India and with Sofala lower down the coast, where gold was obtained. They offered to pilot the ships into the harbour, but Da Gama thought it better not to go there until he was better informed of the condition of things.

After his visitors had taken their departure, however, he sent Nicolau Coelho in the caravel to Mozambique, who reached the harbour safely, though by keeping too close to

the island he struck lightly on a reef and unshipped his rudder. Meantime the men who had been aboard the Portuguese ships had reported to the governor what they had seen and that they believed the strangers to be Turks, so with a large retinue he went on board the caravel. His name was Zakoeja. He was a tall slender man of middle age, dressed in a white cotton robe covered with an open velvet tunic, his silken turban was richly embroidered with gold thread, and he had velvet sandals on his feet. At his side was a jewelled scimitar, and in his belt a handsome dagger. He was well received and entertained by Nicolau Coelho, but as there was no interpreter on board he did not stay long.

After this the other two ships came to the anchorage, when Zakoeja with a number of attendants paid a visit to Vasco da Gama, and was received with as much state as possible. A long conversation was held through the medium of Fernão Martins as interpreter, presents were interchanged, and the governor promised to supply two pilots to conduct the ships to India, which was what Da Gama most of all desired. The governor afterwards brought two pilots on board, who were paid in advance, and remained in the ship. A trade in provisions was opened, and the intercourse between the different peoples was of the most friendly kind. The particulars of the commerce carried on with the countries along the shores of the Indian ocean were ascertained, and much that aroused the cupidity of the Portuguese was learned of Sofala, the famous gold port to the south.

So far all had gone well. But now the Mohamedans came to discover that their visitors were Christians, and immediately everything was changed. The wars of many centuries carried on between the adherents of the two creeds had created a feeling of the deepest animosity between them, and wherever they met—except under very peculiar circumstances—they regarded each other as natural foes. Even here in the Indian sea, where the only Christians hitherto

seen were a few humble Nestorian traders, this was the case. One of the pilots deserted, and the attitude of the people on shore was so altered that Da Gama, fearing his ships might be secretly set on fire, removed to the island of St. George. Here a pillar bearing that name was set up, and beside it an altar where the first religious service of the combined crews was held since their departure from Lisbon.

Da Gama and Nicolau Coelho then left St. George in boats to demand the absconding pilot at Mozambique, but on the way met a number of zambucos, and a skirmish followed in which the Portuguese were victors, though after beating off their opponents they thought it best to return to their ships. The fleet then set sail, but the wind was so light and variable and the current so strong that no progress could be made, and after several days the anchors were again dropped at the island of St. George. Here an Arab came on board with his little son, and offered his services in case of need as a pilot to Melinde, as he said he wished to return to his own country, and this place was on the way. His offer was accepted, and he remained in the *São Gabriel.*

By this time the water was getting short, so Da Gama resolved to return to Mozambique to replenish his casks, as the pilot furnished by Zakoeja promised to show him a spring at a convenient place on the mainland. The night after coming to the harbour the boats were sent out, but the place could not be found until the next day, and then it was necessary to use force to get possession of it. In the confusion the pilot made his escape. Enraged with the opposition shown and the insults received, Da Gama now determined to inflict punishment upon his adversaries, which he felt confident his superior weapons would enable him to do. Accordingly he attacked the village on the island with his boats, destroyed a palisade intended for defence, and killed several people, among whom was the first pilot that absconded. A few days later he bombarded the village

from his ships, and did as much damage as was in his power, which brought the Mohamedans to solicit peace. An agreement, professedly of good will on both sides, was then entered into, and a pilot declared to be competent to conduct the fleet to India was provided by Zakoeja, under whose guidance on the 1st of April the voyage was resumed.

About four hundred kilometres north of Mozambique the new pilot took the vessels among some islets, where they were in danger of being wrecked, and as this was believed to be an act of treachery on his part, Da Gama caused him to be soundly flogged. On this account the islets received the name Do Açoutado, that is Of the Scourged. Kilwa was the port the captain-general wished to visit next, as he had been told that many of its inhabitants were Christians, but owing to the strong current he was unable to put into it, and therefore steered for Mombasa farther on. On the way the *São Rafael* grounded on a shoal, and at low water lay high and dry, where she was visited by some people from the coast; but when the tide rose she floated off uninjured.

On the 7th of April the fleet arrived off Mombasa. Da Gama would not enter the inner harbour at first, though he received pressing invitations to do so, but he sent two convicts on shore, apparently to convey presents to the sheik, really as spies to make observations. They were watched so closely, however, that they could gather very little information. The messages that passed to and fro were friendly in words, but both parties were evidently on their guard against treachery, and only a limited number of visitors at a time—and those unarmed—were allowed on board the ships. After some days Da Gama, to allay suspicion, promised to go in, but in doing so his ship drifted towards a shoal, and such a clamour was made in letting the anchor go that some visitors to the different vessels became alarmed and jumped overboard. The pilot supplied by Zakoeja did this also, and was picked up and

conveyed to land by a boat that was close by at the time. This was regarded by the Portuguese as clear proof of intended treachery, and a very strict watch was kept and no visitors were allowed on board again as long as the fleet remained there.

As soon as he could get away Da Gama set sail for Melinde, under guidance of the Arab who had come with him from St. George. On the passage he captured a zambuco, and learned from the men in her that the ruler of Melinde would most likely give him a welcome reception, and that there were three or four Indian trading vessels then in his port. The antagonism between the people of that place and those of Mombasa was indeed so inveterate that the enemy of one would to a certainty be regarded as a friend by the other. Upon his arrival at the port, which was at some distance from the town, communication was opened with the ruler, and so satisfactory were the assurances of good faith and honourable intentions given on both sides that a meeting was arranged to take place on the water.

This was conducted with as much state as possible, the boats being decorated with flags and awnings, and trumpets and other instruments being sounded. A long conversation between Da Gama and the ruler of Melinde was followed by a pledge of peace and friendship between them, which was never afterwards broken. In token of this agreement a pillar, named Espirito Santo, with the ruler's consent was set up in the town. By this time nearly half the Portuguese who left Lisbon were dead, and many of the others were ill and weak; but the refreshments obtained at Melinde and the strong confidence now felt that their voyage would terminate favourably did much towards the restoration of health and vigour. The Indian vessels in the port were manned partly by Hindoos and partly by Mohamedans. Among these strangers was one named Cana, a native of Guzerat, who was a skilful pilot, and whose services Da Gama secured to conduct him to India.

Leaving Melinde on the 24th of April, twenty-two days later the fleet made the land a few miles below Calicut, and the object for which the Portuguese had striven so long and so bravely was attained. Of the occurrences which followed in Hindostan it is unnecessary to treat in this narrative, which has to deal with Africa alone. On his return passage Da Gama touched again at Melinde, where he was received in the same friendly manner as before, and where he remained five days to obtain refreshments, during which time several of his men died. An ambassador from the ruler of the town to the king of Portugal accompanied him when he left. Proceeding on his way homeward, the *São Rafael* struck on the same shoal where she had grounded on the outward passage, and could not be got off again. Da Gama did not regret this much, as after dividing her officers and crew between the *São Gabriel* and the *Berrio*, there were barely sufficient men to work these two vessels, so many having died.

He touched at the island of St. George, where divine worship was held, and also at the watering place of São Bras; and doubled the Cape of Good Hope on the 20th of March 1499. Near the Cape Verde islands the two vessels parted in a storm, and the *Berrio* was the first to reach the Tagus, on the 10th of July 1499, two years and two days after she had sailed away from it. The *São Gabriel* touched at the island of Santiago, where, as she was in urgent need of repairs, João de Sá was instructed to have them made and take her home, and Vasco da Gama hired a caravel in which to proceed at once. His brother Paulo da Gama was very ill with consumption, and he wished to get him to Portugal as speedily as possible. But the invalid grew worse on the way, so the caravel put in at Terceira, where he died. Having interred his remains in the monastery of St. Francis, Vasco da Gama proceeded to Lisbon, which he reached on the 29th of August, and after making his devotions at the hermitage of our Lady of Bethlehem, was received in the city with every possible demonstration of joy, though of all

the company that sailed with him only fifty-five men saw their homes again.

The ocean highway to the rich lands of the East had now at last been traversed from end to end, and great was the satisfaction of King Manuel, his courtiers, and his people. It was indeed something to rejoice over, though at this distance of time the exploit of Da Gama does not seem much more meritorious than that of Dias. The earlier navigator had uncertainty always before him, yet he traced fully two thousand six hundred kilometres of previously unknown coast, and he doubled the southern cape. From the river Infante to the Kilimane Da Gama sailed over nineteen hundred and thirty kilometres of unexplored sea, but he had more, larger, and better equipped ships. At the Kilimane he saw proofs that by keeping steadfastly on his course he must succeed in reaching his goal, so that from this point onward he could have been disturbed by no fear of finding some insurmountable physical barrier in his way. But it is only the final winner of a race who receives the prize, and so honours were heaped upon him, and his name was made to occupy a large and proud place in the history of Portugal, while Dias was left almost unnoticed and very inadequately rewarded. As a foretaste of favours to come, Da Gama had at once the title of Dom conferred upon him, with a small pension and the privilege of trading annually in Indian wares to a certain amount.

CHAPTER X.

SUCCEEDING VOYAGES AND CONQUESTS.

THE condition of affairs on the shores of the Indian sea, as reported by Vasco da Gama, was such that it was evident a display of force would be necessary to carry on trade, as the Mohamedans were nearly everywhere hostile. The whole kingdom of Portugal, however, was as resolute as the monarch himself in the determination to secure the eastern commerce, so that no difficulty was experienced in getting together what was believed in those days to be a very strong armament. And indeed, though a modern gunboat could in less than half an hour send to the bottom the whole of the fleet that King Manuel despatched on this occasion, the Mohamedans on the Indian ocean — even if they could have combined — had nothing fit to oppose it. The approximate time at which the different monsoons set in was now known, and to take advantage of them it was necessary that ships should leave Lisbon in February or March. Preparations were therefore made with all possible haste, and in the first week of March 1500 thirteen ships of different sizes, fitted out in the best manner, lay at anchor at Rastello ready for sea. Twelve hundred picked men, between soldiers and sailors, were on board, and an able officer, Pedro Alvares Cabral by name, was in chief command, with another named Sancho de Toar as next in authority.

The instructions of the king were that where they came peace and friendship were to be offered to the inhabitants on condition of their accepting the Christian faith and

engaging in commerce, but if these terms were refused, relentless war was to be made upon them. Eight friars of the order of St. Francis were sent in the fleet to make the tenets of the Christian religion known, in addition to whom there were eight chaplains in the ships, and a vicar for a fortress which was intended to be built and garrisoned at Calicut. The reports that Da Gama had received of the gold trade of Sofala had caused a belief of its great value, and therefore a factory was to be established at that place, of which Bartholomeu Dias was sent out in command of one of the ships to take charge.

On Sunday the 8th of March the officers and principal people of the fleet attended divine worship in the hermitage of our Lady of Bethlehem, when the king delivered a banner to Cabral, and upon the conclusion of the service a procession was formed to conduct them to the river side, where they embarked. On the following morning sail was set, and the Tagus was left behind. Of those who had been with Da Gama, Nicolau Coelho, who commanded a ship, and João de Sá are the only ones known to have sailed with Cabral.

On the passage to the Cape Verde islands a storm was encountered, in which one of the ships got separated from the others, and therefore returned to Lisbon. Keeping far to the westward to avoid the calms usually met with on the coast of Guinea, on the 24th of April to his great surprise Cabral discovered a country unknown before, the mainland of South America. There, at a harbour on the coast of Brazil, he took in water and set ashore two convicts. Having despatched one of his vessels to Portugal with tidings of the discovery, on the 3rd of May he sailed again. On the 24th of this month a violent tornado was encountered, which was preceded by a calm, and the wind suddenly struck the ships with terrific force. It at once became dark as night, the raging of the tempest drowned all other sounds, and the sea rose in such tremendous billows that the sailors regarded themselves as lost. When

the tornado ceased four vessels had disappeared, never to be seen again. One was that of which Bartholomeu Dias was captain, and thus the discoverer of the Cape of Good Hope found a grave in the Atlantic.

The remaining seven vessels were scattered in the storm. One, which was commanded by Pedro Dias, a brother of Bartholomeu, got as far as Magadosho, but had by that time lost so many of her crew that she put about, and returned to Lisbon, which port she reached with only six men on board. By the 16th of July the other six were together again beyond the shoals of Sofala, but had received so much damage in the tornado and in almost constant stormy weather that followed it as to be more like wrecks than sea-going ships.

Here two zambucos were seen, and one was captured, the other escaping to the shore. The prisoners stated that they had been trading at Sofala for gold, and were on their return passage to Melinde, their captain being the sheik Foteima, uncle of the ruler of that town. Upon hearing this, Cabral immediately liberated them, and restored the zambuco to the old sheik, whom he treated with the greatest courtesy on account of the alliance with the place to which he belonged. Then continuing his course, on the 20th of July he cast anchor in the harbour of Mozambique. The people of that island, remembering what had been done by a fleet only half as strong as the one now in their waters, professed the most sincere friendship, and did what they could to assist the Portuguese. Here Cabral refitted his ships, and then, having obtained a good pilot, sailed for Kilwa.

Upon his arrival at this port he sent a message to Emir Abraham by Affonso Furtado that he had letters for him from the king of Portugal, and as he was forbidden by his instructions to go on shore he desired that a place and time of meeting should be arranged. A tone of superiority was thus assumed from the first, which must have been exceedingly irritating to a man who had been accustomed to be

treated as an independent sovereign. Probably had he known the position of the messenger he would have felt doubly indignant, for Affonso Furtado had been sent out as secretary of the factory which Bartholomeu Dias was to have established at Sofala, the most valuable of the ancient dependencies of Kilwa. There could not be a really friendly feeling towards the strangers, but the emir dissembled, expressed his pleasure at their arrival, and arranged to meet Cabral on the water. Some sheep and other provisions were sent as a present to the flagship, and a counter present was sent on shore.

With all the pomp and state that both parties could display the boats came alongside each other at the time fixed upon, the letter from the king of Portugal was delivered, and an apparently friendly conversation was held. But when Cabral requested the emir to adopt the Christian faith and to surrender part of his claim to the gold trade of Sofala, he evaded giving an immediate reply, and proposed that Affonso Furtado should be sent ashore again to conclude an agreement of peace and amity. With this understanding Cabral parted from him, but when Furtado landed on the following day he found preparations for defence being made on every side, and the tone of the emir was entirely changed. It was evident that rather than submit to the demands of the Portuguese he had resolved to resist them with arms, and as Cabral's force was so reduced that he did not wish to commence hostilities here, the fleet set sail again. From this time onward Abraham was regarded as an enemy, and was made to appear as a treacherous tyrant.

Cabral proceeded from Kilwa to Melinde, where he was received with real demonstrations of satisfaction, as the ruler of that place relied upon Portuguese support in his feud with Mombasa. In consequence every thing in his power was done to assist the fleet, and he professed himself the servant of King Manuel in such terms that even the most exacting of the European officers was satisfied. The envoy

that he had sent with Da Gama to Lisbon returned with Cabral, and a present of considerable value was delivered from the king. Two convicts, named João Machado and Luis de Moura, were set ashore well equipped for a journey into the interior, and were directed to endeavour to reach Prester John. On the 7th of August Cabral set sail for the Malabar coast, having with him two pilots of Guzerat engaged in Melinde.

On his return passage, the ship commanded by Sancho de Toar was wrecked on the coast near Melinde, and when her crew was rescued she was set on fire, as nothing could be saved from her. The sheik of Mombasa, however, afterwards recovered her guns, which he mounted on fortifications in his town. Cabral arrived thus at Mozambique with only five of the thirteen ships with which he sailed from Lisbon. Here he caused them to be cleaned and refitted, and then gave the smallest of them to Sancho de Toar with instructions to proceed to Sofala and make himself acquainted with the condition of that place. With the remaining four vessels he sailed from Mozambique, but one, under command of Pedro d'Ataide, was separated from him in a storm, and was obliged to put into the watering place of São Bras to refit. With three ships therefore Cabral doubled the Cape of Good Hope on the 22nd of May 1501, and reached Lisbon on the 31st of July.

Of the visit of Sancho de Toar to Sofala very little information is given by Portuguese writers who had access to the journal of the voyage, and the other early accounts are most conflicting. One of these is by a pilot in Cabral's fleet, whose name is unknown, and who could only have acquired his knowledge from hearsay. It is to the following effect:—

De Toar found several Arab vessels at Sofala, from one of which he took an officer, whom he kept as a hostage for an Asiatic Christian sent ashore to make enquiries. After waiting two or three days without his messenger returning, he set sail for Portugal, and reached Lisbon the

day after the captain-general. From information given by his captive, added to his own observations, De Toar learned that the Mohamedan settlement was not large, and that the gold was obtained from inhabitants of the interior in exchange for merchandise, but of the condition of the country and the details of the trade he remained in ignorance.

In the *Legends of India* Gaspar Correa gives what appears to be a much more complete account. But with respect to events previous to the government of Affonso d'Alboquerque this writer was a novelist rather than a historian, and though the first part of his work possesses great value as a reflection of his times, neither his statements nor his dates are to be relied upon. He did to some extent, in short, for the early history of the Portuguese in India what Sir Walter Scott did for the history of Scotland, though his *Legends* fall far short of the *Heart of Midlothian* or the *Fair Maid of Perth* as a vivid picture of national life. Correa's account, condensed, is as follows:

Sancho de Toar took with him from Mozambique an experienced pilot and a competent Arabic interpreter. He had also as passengers several Mohamedan traders, whom he received on board in order to learn their manner of conducting the gold barter. He crossed the bar of the river safely, and anchored before the lower village, when the traders proceeded to visit the sheik Isuf, each one taking a present with him. They informed the sheik who the stranger was and that he desired a conference, upon which Isuf at once consented, and sent a ring from his finger to Sancho de Toar as a pledge of safety. The Portuguese captain then landed with ten attendants carrying a present of considerable value, and was received with much cordiality. His object, he stated, was to ascertain whether the sheik was willing to carry on trade with people of his nationality in the same manner as with others, and if vessels laden with merchandise might be sent for that purpose to his port. Isuf replied that he was very willing it should be so,

provided the Portuguese kept good faith and acted as friends. He then made a counter present of gold for the captain-general and one for De Toar himself, and sent a quantity of provisions on board the vessel. All trade, it was observed, passed through the sheik. The merchants displayed their goods before him, and when approved of he delivered to them gold in payment to the amount of twelve or fifteen times the cost price. Having obtained complete information concerning the place and its commerce, Sancho de Toar set sail from Sofala, and reached Lisbon within a few hours after the arrival of the other ships of the fleet.

There was naturally a feeling of sorrow for the loss of life sustained in Cabral's voyage, but otherwise the monarch and his people were very well satisfied with what had been accomplished. The king considered himself justified now in adding to his other titles that of Lord of the Navigation, Conquest, and Trade of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India, which title was confirmed to him in 1502 by Pope Alexander VI.

Before the return of Cabral, on the 5th of May 1501 the third Indian fleet, consisting of four ships, sailed under command of João da Nova, principal magistrate of the city of Lisbon. At this time the eastern trade was not entirely monopolised by the government, and two of these ships were owned and fitted out by private individuals who had obtained licenses for that purpose from the king. On the passage out the island of Ascension—at first called Conception—was discovered, and on the 7th of July the fleet came to anchor at the watering place of São Bras.

Here in an old shoe fastened to a tree was found a letter written by Pedro d'Ataide, giving an account of Cabral's voyage to the time when he separated from that commander. From it Da Nova learned that the intended factory at Sofala had not been established on account of the loss at sea of Bartholomeu Dias and his ship, and that a fort had not been built at Calicut, where hostility had been encountered and the factor Aires Correa and a number of other Portuguese had

been murdered, but that mercantile houses with Portuguese officials had been opened at Cochin and Cananor, which were peaceful and safe ports to enter. The latter part of this intelligence gave much satisfaction. On a knoll beyond the beach the chief captain caused a chapel, or hermitage as it was termed, to be built of stone, as a place for divine worship. It was dedicated to Saint Bras. This was the first Christian place of worship erected in South Africa, and though it was small and must have been very roughly constructed, the walls were so strong that more than half a century later they were standing to the height of a metre or more. While this work was going on some cattle were obtained in barter from the Hottentots and the ships were supplied with water, and when it was completed the fleet sailed again. Da Nova touched at Mozambique, Kilwa, and Melinde, but nothing occurred at either of these places that needs mention. On his return passage he discovered and named the island of St. Helena, where he took in water, and on the 11th of September 1502 he cast anchor again in the Tagus.

A great advance was now made by King Manuel towards the establishment of his authority in the eastern seas by stationing a fleet of war there permanently. It consisted of five ships, and was placed under command of Vicente Sodre, who was a brother of Vasco da Gama's mother. His instructions were to protect the two factories at Cochin and Cananor, and in the summer months to guard the strait of Bab el Mandeb and prevent the entrance or egress of Arab and Egyptian vessels. So small a force at first sight appears altogether inadequate for the duty imposed upon it, but its insignificance vanishes on remembering that its opponents were not armed for battle. A Portuguese ship could discharge cannon at them, very clumsy indeed, but still capable of sinking them, and was herself perfectly safe if she could keep their boats from boarding her. Her crew were accustomed to war, and were full of religious zeal, believing that the Almighty was on their side in the contest

with infidels. Deeds that to us look like piracy and murder were to them heroic and glorious acts, for they were living in an age of cruelty, when the meaning of the word mercy was almost unknown, and clemency to enemies of another creed was rarely practised. The Moslem trading vessels, running before the monsoon from the coast of India with rich cargoes, were regarded by them as prizes given into their hands by the Most High.

The enormous profit upon the eastern merchandise, notwithstanding the length of the voyages and the loss of so many ships and men, induced the king to send out in 1502 a larger number of trading ships than had ever gone before. The chief command was offered to Pedro Alvares Cabral, but he made so many objections to the nearly independent authority given to Vicente Sodre that the offer was withdrawn, and Dom Vasco da Gama, who had now the title of Admiral of the Eastern Seas conferred upon him, was selected for the post. On the 10th of February 1502 the fleet set sail from the Tagus. It consisted of the five ships commanded by Vicente Sodre, who was second in authority and next in succession in case of the death of the admiral, and ten others that were intended to return with cargoes. Still other five were being equipped, but were not then ready for sea, and did not sail until the 1st of April. They were commanded by Estevão da Gama, first cousin of the admiral, under whose orders he was to place himself upon his arrival in India.

Da Gama took in water at a port near Cape Verde, where he remained six days, and sailed again on the 7th of March. After encountering several storms in which some of his ships received much damage, he reached Cape Correntes with all except one commanded by Antonio do Campo, that was somewhere behind. Here he sent Vicente Sodre on to Mozambique with the ten largest vessels, and with the four smallest he steered for Sofala, in accordance with instructions from the king. He crossed the bar and anchored in front of the lower village, where he exchanged courtesies and presents

with the sheik Isuf and confirmed the agreement of friendship with him, but did not obtain much gold in barter. Here he remained twenty-five days, making himself acquainted with the locality and the particulars of the interior trade. When leaving, one of his vessels struck on the bar and was lost, but her crew and cargo were saved.

Upon his arrival at Mozambique fifteen days after Vicente Sodre, he found a caravel that had been taken out in pieces on board the other ships nearly ready for sea. She was named the *Pomposa*, and had been designed by the king to guard the coast between the island and Sofala and carry on a trade in gold, but after what he had seen the admiral resolved to take her to India. A gentleman named João Serrão was appointed to command her. Zakoeja was then dead, and a much more friendly or perhaps more timid governor filled his place, so everything went on smoothly at Mozambique, where Da Gama remained four days, and then set sail for Kilwa.

This port he reached on the 12th of July, and entered it amidst a roar of artillery, as he had resolved to reduce the emir Abraham to submission owing to what had happened to Pedro Alvares Cabral. Upon his threatening to put the town to fire and sword if that potentate would not meet him, the emir with some attendants went off in zambucos, when Da Gama caused him to be seized, and informed him that he must become a vassal of Portugal and pay a yearly tribute of two thousand maticals of gold, about £893 15*s.* English sterling money, or he would be detained as a prisoner and taken to India. With this alternative before him, Abraham professed to be submissive, and an agreement was entered into in compliance with Da Gama's terms. A hostage was given to the admiral in the person of one Mohamed Ankoni, a man of rank in the town, and the emir was then permitted to return to land. But the tribute for the first year was not sent off as promised, so Mohamed Ankoni, knowing that Abraham would be rather pleased than otherwise with his detention or death, owing to jealousy

and ill will entertained towards him, paid it himself to recover his freedom. The transaction does not seem very conclusive now, but Da Gama was satisfied with it, and Kilwa was thereafter considered a vassal state of Portugal.

Shortly after this the squadron under Estevão da Gama joined the admiral. It had been becalmed off Sofala, and lay at anchor outside the bar there from the 15th to the 17th of July, but did not attempt to enter the river, though smoke signals to do so were made from the shore. From Kilwa the admiral proceeded towards Melinde, but could not reach that port owing to the currents, so anchored at a distance of about fifty-five kilometres from it and by means of a messenger exchanged greetings with its friendly ruler. Thence he set sail for India, which he reached safely with the entire fleet except the ship commanded by Antonio do Campo, that did not cross over until the next favourable monsoon.

On the passage a large vessel, named the *Meri*, was fallen in with. She belonged to the Mameluke ruler of Egypt, and had a rich cargo of spices and other merchandise taken in at Calicut, with which and a number of pilgrims—including over fifty women and children—she was proceeding to the Red sea. There were two hundred and sixty men on board. She was captured without resistance, but when her cargo was being removed the Mohamedans tried to recover her. The result was that Da Gama caused her to be set on fire, and of all on board only twenty children were taken off, who were afterwards baptized and placed in a convent in Lisbon. All the others died by the sword or by fire.

On his return passage Da Gama touched only at Mozambique, where he took in water and refreshments. He reached Lisbon on the 1st of September 1503, and the tribute from Kilwa, the first from any state bordering on the Indian ocean, was received by the king with much gratification. It was presented to the monastery of Belem, to be devoted to the service of religion.

In 1503 three squadrons, each of three ships, were sent out, respectively under Francisco d'Alboquerque, Affonso d'Alboquerque, and Antonio de Saldanha. The transactions of the first two at any part of the African coast were too unimportant to need mention here. The last named was instructed to cruise for some time off the entrance to the Red sea, and destroy all the Arab commerce that he could before proceeding to India. The captains who sailed under his flag were Diogo Fernandes Pereira and Ruy Lourenço Ravasco, but before reaching the Cape of Good Hope the three ships separated from each other, and as the commodore did not know where he was, he entered a deep bay and cast anchor. Before him rose a great mass of rock, nearly eleven hundred metres in height, with its top making a level line more than two kilometres and a half in length on the sky. This grand mountain was flanked at either end with less lofty peaks, supported by buttresses projecting towards the shore. The recess was a capacious valley, down the centre of which flowed a streamlet of clear sweet water that fell into the bay just abreast of the ship at anchor.

The valley seemed to be without people, but after a while some Hottentots made their appearance, from whom a cow and two sheep were purchased. They were suspicious of the strangers, however, for on another occasion some two hundred of them suddenly attacked a party of Portuguese who had gone on shore, and Saldanha himself received a slight wound. Before this affray the commodore, who was in the full vigour of early life and filled with that love of adventure which distinguished his countrymen in those days of their glory, had climbed to the top of the great flat rock, to which he gave the name Table Mountain, the ravine in its face pointing out the place of ascent then, as it does to-day. From its summit he could see the sheet of water now known as False Bay, and on the isthmus connecting the Cape peninsula with the mainland some lakelets were visible. These he mistook for the mouth of a large river emptying into the head of False Bay, and thereafter for

over a hundred and eighty years such a stream appeared on the maps of South Africa as coursing down from a great distance in the interior, though after a time it was made to enter the sea far to the eastward. From the top of Table Mountain Saldanha could also see the Cape of Good Hope, and so, having found out where he was, he pursued his voyage with the first fair wind. The bay in which he had anchored was thenceforth called after him Agoada de Saldanha, the watering place of Saldanha, until a century later it received its present name of Table Bay.

The ship commanded by Diogo Fernandes Pereira was separated from the other two in a storm off Cape Verde, and did not again fall in with either of them on the outward passage. She made prizes of a few Arab vessels on the East African coast, and then proceeded to the island of Socotra, where she was obliged to remain until the favourable monsoon of 1504 set in, when she went on to India.

Ruy Lourenço Ravasco parted from Saldanha in a storm after leaving the island of St. Thomas, for, instead of keeping out of the gulf of Guinea, they were hugging the African coast. He was ahead of the commodore, and continued on his course round the Cape of Good Hope until he reached Mozambique, where he took in refreshments, and then proceeded to Kilwa. At this place he waited twenty days for the flag ship, and then, as she did not appear, he went on to Zanzibar. In a cruise of two months off that island he captured and either destroyed or held to ransom a great number of Arab vessels. Ravasco, who was utterly fearless, even ventured to drop anchor before the town of Zanzibar, where he attacked a large force collected for its defence, and won a battle in which among others the heir to the government of the island was killed. The ruler then begged for peace, and agreed to pay a yearly tribute of one hundred maticals of gold—£44 13*s.* 9*d.*—and thirty sheep to the king of Portugal.

Ravasco next went to the assistance of the friendly town of Melinde, which was threatened by a Mombasan army.

While thus engaged he captured some vessels in which he found the principal members of the government of Brava, whom he compelled to ransom their persons and to agree that their town should pay a yearly tribute of £223 8*s.* 9*d.* Here he was joined by Saldanha, who had also taken several prizes, and whose arrival brought the sheik of Mombasa to terms. He consented to make peace with Melinde, but his own independence was not subverted. The two Portuguese ships then set sail for the Arabian coast, where they did considerable damage, after which they proceeded to India.

In 1504 a fleet of thirteen ships was sent from Portugal to India under command of Lopo Soares d'Albergaria. It touched at Mozambique and Melinde on the outward passage, at both of which places it received good entertainment. When returning to Portugal with cargoes of great value, partly taken from captured prizes, Lopo Soares touched at Kilwa, and demanded from the emir Abraham the tribute then due. The emir refused to pay it, and no attempt was made to force him to do so. At Mozambique the fleet remained twelve days taking in provisions and water, as this island had now become the favourite refreshing place of the Portuguese whether outward or homeward bound. From Mozambique the two fastest sailing ships, under command of Pedro de Mendonça and Lopo d'Abreu, were sent in advance to Lisbon with a report of the condition of affairs in India, but the one under Pedro de Mendonça ran ashore at night some distance west of the watering place of São Bras, and was lost with all her crew. Lopo Soares reached the Tagus again on the 22nd of July 1505, after the most successful voyage yet made.

And now a great step forward in the extension of Portuguese authority in the East was resolved upon by King Manuel. This was the construction and garrisoning of forts at Quilon, Cochin, Cananor, Anjediva, Kilwa, and Sofala, and the maintenance of two armed fleets, one to keep the seas from Cape Guardafui to the gulf of Cambay, the other from the gulf of Cambay to Cape Comorin, which would give him absolute control of the whole commerce of Western India and Eastern

Africa. Such a design seems almost audacious for a little country like Portugal to attempt to carry out, but the people were full of energy, and the enormous profit on eastern produce gave promise of boundless wealth. Lisbon was rapidly becoming the storehouse from which all Western Europe was supplied with spices and Indian wares of every kind. These were not distributed in the places of consumption by the Portuguese, who were unequal to that additional task, and so the beautiful Tagus was visited by ships of many nations, whose merchants drew their supplies from the great warehouses on its banks. The glory of Venice had not yet quite departed, but every year her traffic was becoming less and less.

To encourage men to enlist as soldiers for service in India, they were offered a share in the pepper trade. Their regular pay was fifteen shillings and four pence a month, with food or seven shillings and eight pence a month maintenance money; but each one received in India every year in addition one hundred and fifty kilogrammes of pepper, which he was permitted to send home in the king's ships to be sold on his account. Officers of all ranks and the sailors in the fleets were paid in the same way, each one receiving a certain quantity of pepper according to the importance of his duties. At that time gold and silver had a very much higher purchasing power than they have at present, thus, according to Barros, pepper brought wholesale in Lisbon only about seven pence three farthings a kilogramme when sold for coin, but if bartered for European goods or provisions it produced many times as much as it would to-day.

To carry out the king's design a great fleet was made ready, in which fifteen hundred soldiers were embarked. A large number of noblemen and gentlemen, appointed to various situations which they were to hold for three years, were also on board, and everything that would be needed for the object in view had been carefully provided. A capable officer, named Tristão da Cunha, was selected as

head of the expedition, but when all was in readiness for leaving he was seized with an illness which for a time deprived him of sight, so he was obliged to retire from the command. The vacant post was then offered to Dom Francisco d'Almeida, and accepted by him.

This nobleman was a son of the first count of Abrantes and brother of the bishop of Coimbra. He was a man of valour, who had distinguished himself in various positions, and who was generally esteemed for his probity and generosity. The instructions issued to him provided that he should be styled chief captain and governor until the several fortresses were built, after which he was to take the title of viceroy; he was directed what ships he was to send back with cargoes, and what others he was to keep to guard the coasts; he was to treat with justice and kindness all who should act towards him in a friendly manner, but was to wage relentless war against the Mohamedans who should oppose him; and he was especially to favour all converts to Christianity.

As commander of the fortress which was to be built at Sofala, a gentleman named Pedro d'Anaya was appointed, who was to go out as captain of one of the ships. Another gentleman, named Pedro Ferreira Fogaça, was in the same way sent out to be captain of the fortress to be built at Kilwa. But the ship in which Pedro d'Anaya was to sail sank one night in the river, which caused an alteration in the plan regarding Sofala. Instead of going there first, the chief captain was to commence the erection of fortresses at Kilwa, and as soon as other ships could be made ready Pedro d'Anaya was to be sent with them to the coveted gold port, still, however, in a subordinate position.

On the 25th of March 1505 Dom Francisco d'Almeida set sail from Belem. Never before had so many people assembled to take part in the religious observances usual on such occasions and to bid farewell to those who were leaving, for never had so many men of rank and position gone with such an expedition before. The fleet consisted of twenty-

one ships, of which eleven were to return with cargoes, and the others to remain in the Indian sea. The materials for constructing several caravels were also on board. Well fitted out as the ships were, the crews were largely composed of landsmen, and in one in particular there was not a sailor who on leaving knew how to manage the helm.

On the 6th of April the fleet arrived at Cape Verde, and after taking in water at some harbours on that coast, left on the 15th. As some of the ships were very slow sailers, seven of them were here formed into a separate squadron, the command of which was given to Manuel Paçanha, and with the remaining fourteen Dom Francisco tried to push on more quickly. On the 5th of May in a heavy sea the ship commanded by Pedro Ferreira Fogaça was observed to be sinking, and her crew were hardly rescued when she went down with nearly everything on board. The Cape of Good Hope was doubled on the 26th of June, but the fleet had gone so far south to avoid danger that the cold was very severe and the decks of the ships were covered with snow. Turning now to the north-eastward, without touching anywhere on the way himself, but sending two ships under Gonçalo de Paiva and Fernão Bermudes to Mozambique for information, Dom Francisco d'Almeida reached Kilwa on the 22nd of July. His squadron was intact, except the vessels detached and one, of which João Serrão was captain, that had parted from him in a gale.

João da Nova, who was going out to command the fleet of war that was to guard the sea from the gulf of Cambay to Cape Comorin, was at once sent ashore to arrange with the emir Abraham for a meeting. Some fruit was taken on board the flag ship as a present when she dropped anchor, but no other show of welcome was made, nor was the Portuguese flag that the admiral Dom Vasco da Gama had left there exhibited as a sign of dependency. The emir promised João da Nova to meet Dom Francisco on the water the following morning, but when the time came and the gaily decorated Portuguese boats were there in readiness,

he sent word that a black cat had crossed his path on rising, which was an omen that no agreement made that day would be lasting, and therefore he wished to postpone the interview. Shortly after this, however, he fled to the mainland with a few attendants, but left about fifteen hundred men capable of bearing arms in the town, though there was nothing like a spirit of union among them.

Thereupon Dom Francisco resolved to take forcible possession of the place. To do this, at early dawn in the morning of the 24th he landed at the head of three hundred men at one point, and his son Dom Lourenço d'Almeida with two hundred at another, when each marched towards the residence of the emir. Hardly any resistance was offered, except in one of the narrow streets, for instead of attempting to defend the town most of the inhabitants followed their ruler to the mainland with as much of their movable property as they could carry away. The residence of the emir, which was in a commanding position, was thus easily secured, after which the Franciscan friars in the fleet landed and set up a cross, before which the canticle *Te Deum Laudamus* was chanted, and when this was concluded the place was given up to plunder. A great quantity of calico, spices, and other Indian produce, as well as ivory, ambergris, and African provisions, was collected and stored in a well guarded building close to the beach.

No time was lost in selecting a site for a fort, as the emir's residence was in a good position and could be altered and strengthened to serve the purpose. The adjoining buildings were cleared away to leave a large open space on three sides, and their materials were used for the necessary additions to the walls and for the construction of towers. On the fourth side the fort was so close to the shore of the harbour that at high water the waves beat against it. In twenty days the work was completed and cannon were mounted on the walls, as every one in the fleet, the commander himself included, joined with alacrity in the task of carrying stones and earth, and lightened the labour with

jests and merry songs. The structure was named São Thiago, after the patron saint of the Iberian peninsula, on whose festival the work was commenced.

Meantime the form of the future government of Kilwa was taken into consideration. Dom Francisco d'Almeida resolved to leave everything as it was, except by changing the person at the head of the administration, and to permit the inhabitants of the town to return and resume possession of their houses in peace and security, provided they would accept the new ruler appointed by him. The emir Abraham, being a usurper, had no strong hold upon the affections of the people, and they consented readily to his being displaced. Between him and Mohamed Ankoni, who has been mentioned before, there was a deep feeling of enmity, which had caused Mohamed to be regarded by the Portuguese as their firm friend, as he professed to be. This was the man selected by Dom Francisco, with the consent of a council of his officers, to take the place of the deposed emir. He was not connected in any way with the family that had ruled Kilwa for centuries, but that was not regarded as of any importance, since he was to owe his position solely to the favour of the Portuguese.

Accordingly Mohamed Ankoni was offered the title of king, which he accepted, and he was crowned and proclaimed with much ceremony. He was about sixty years of age, and had sons who might succeed him, but for some reason or other —possibly to gain favour with the people—he stipulated that on his death the heir of the last legitimate ruler, the youth who had been kept out of his inheritance by the emir Abraham, should take his place. To this Dom Francisco agreed, attributing the proposal to the new *king's* goodness of disposition. Mohamed Ankoni made oath to pay the tribute imposed by Dom Vasco da Gama fully and regularly, and in all respects to act as a loyal and faithful vassal of Portugal. In this manner the difficulty of government, which the conquerors were too few in number to take upon themselves, was satisfactorily overcome.

Pedro Ferreira Fogaça was installed as captain of the fortress, with Francisco Coutinho as magistrate, and Fernão Cotrim as factor to conduct trade. Various other officials were appointed, and with the soldiers one hundred and fifty men in all were stationed in the fort São Thiago as a garrison. Instructions were given that a small vessel which was being constructed of timber brought from Lisbon and the caravel under command of Gonçalo Vaz de Goes, then in the squadron under Manuel Paçanha, should be kept to guard the coast as far down as Sofala, making Kilwa their home station and base of operations. Thus was commenced the Portuguese dominion on the coast of Eastern Africa, and in the Indian sea as well, for Fort São Thiago was the first stronghold built and garrisoned anywhere beyond Angola.

While these events were taking place the strayed ship under João Serrão arrived, and also the two under Gonçalo de Paiva and Fernão Bermudes that had been sent to Mozambique to obtain information. These brought letters from Lopo Soares that had been left at that island, containing an account of the condition of affairs in India and of his successful voyage, which gave much satisfaction to Dom Francisco and those with him. Nothing more now remaining to be done at Kilwa, on the 8th of August the fleet set sail, and in the evening of the 13th cast anchor outside the bar of Mombasa.

Gonçalo de Paiva's vessel was a small one, and he was therefore sent on the following morning to take soundings before the other ships should attempt to enter the harbour. When doing this he was fired upon from a battery on the shore, on which were mounted the guns recovered from Sancho de Toar's ship that had been lost when returning from India with Pedro Alvares Cabral, and a ball from one of them went through his vessel from stem to stern, without, however, harming any one on board. He returned the fire with his artillery so effectually that the magazine of the battery exploded, when the guns were silenced, and the men who worked them fled into the town. The soundings were

then completed, and it was ascertained that the fleet could enter without danger.

Thereupon Dom Francisco d'Almeida stood into the harbour and anchored his ships in two divisions before different parts of the town. When this was done a message was sent to the ruler by a pilot brought from Kilwa, offering peace and friendship on condition of his becoming a vassal of Portugal and paying tribute, otherwise war would be waged against him. The messenger was not even allowed to land, but some men from the shore—among whom was a Portuguese renegade—called out to him to inform the captain-general that the warriors of Mombasa were not like the hens of Kilwa to be frightened at the sound of artillery, as he would find if he attempted to enter the town. From an inhabitant of the place who was taken prisoner by some boats that were sent up the strait, it was learned also that as soon as the attack on Kilwa became known preparations for defence were hurried on, and that in addition to the Mohamedan residents over fifteen hundred Kaffir archers were in the town and more were hourly expected.

An attempt to bombard the place was then made, but without any effect, as the artillery of those days was not sufficiently powerful to cause damage at such a distance. An endeavour to set fire to some vessels from India that were anchored in the strait was also a failure, and in making it the captain João Serrão was severely wounded and two others were killed with poisoned arrows. Dom Francisco next pretended to be preparing to attack the town in a particular place opposite his main squadron, and even sent his son Dom Lourenço with a strong party on shore there as if to try to set it on fire, but with orders to retreat to his boats without hard fighting. Dom Lourenço carried out these instructions, but lost two men killed and many wounded in doing so. By this means the captain-general drew the whole strength of the enemy to guard and protect that side, and was enabled to carry out the plan of operations he had formed.

Before dawn of the morning following this ruse nearly the whole Portuguese force, after having received absolution from the priests, left the ships in boats to attack Mombasa. One division, under Dom Lourenço, went straight ashore to the front of the town, where the skirmish had taken place, and for a time was believed by the defenders to constitute the whole body of assailants. Another, but much smaller division, rowed up the strait to the vessels from India, to sound trumpets and make as much noise as possible, in order to draw the attention of the enemy to that point. This, however, was only a feint, for the principal attacking force, under the captain-general in person, leaving the smaller squadron which was anchored off the inner end of the town, landed round a point, and fell upon the place from behind.

The plan succeeded, though the defenders made a desperate resistance, especially in the narrow streets, which were so steep that huge boulders could be rolled down them, and where arrows were discharged from the windows and stones hurled from the flat roofs until the Portuguese made their way up and got possession of those terraces. The residence of the ruler was the point aimed at, and there Dom Francisco and his son, after a severe combat in the open space in front, met and found the building abandoned. The townspeople and their Kaffir auxiliaries now strove to flee to a palm grove at some distance, but were shot down with the firelocks and crossbows of the victors and pierced with their lances until it was believed that over fifteen hundred had perished. Fully a thousand, mostly women and children, were made prisoners. Mombasa was then given over to be plundered, and when the spoil was secured was set on fire and as much of it as was possible was destroyed. Only five or six Portuguese had lost their lives, but more than seventy had been wounded, some very severely.

Still, notwithstanding his heavy punishment of a people whose chief offence was refusing to surrender their

independence, Dom Francisco d'Almeida was for his day a humane man. None of those revolting mutilations and barbarities practised by the great Affonso d'Alboquerque on similar occasions, and which must ever stain the memory of his name, were inflicted upon the captives who, trembling with fear, were brought before the victorious captain-general. He selected two hundred to be retained in bondage, and set the others at liberty. This was regarded as magnanimity in the early years of the sixteenth century, and particularly so when dealing with Mohamedans.

The caravel commanded by Gonçalo Vaz de Goes was laden with calico, part of the spoil, and sent to Mozambique to be ready for the trade of Sofala when a fortress should be erected there, after which the remainder of the fleet was towed over the bar and waited outside until a fair wind enabled it to proceed farther up the coast. No garrison was left to occupy Mombasa, so the inhabitants resumed possession of the ruins as soon as the Christians retired, and commenced to rebuild the town.

It was the intention of Dom Francisco d'Almeida to put into Melinde next, to greet the friendly ruler of that town, but the currents carried him beyond it, so he anchored in a bay about forty kilometres farther on, where he found two of the ships of the squadron under Manuel Paçanha. From this place messengers were sent to Melinde with a present from King Manuel to the ruler, to which the captain-general added a considerable quantity of the spoils of Mombasa. The destruction of this place occasioned great satisfaction at Melinde, and complimentary messages to Dom Francisco with a supply of refreshments for his ships were sent in return. On the 27th of August the fleet again set sail, and with a fair wind crossed over to Anjediva, where a fort was built and garrisoned, after which the captain-general took the title of viceroy. The whole of the squadron under Manuel Paçanha had previously joined him, except one ship, commanded by Lopo Sanches, which it was afterwards ascertained had been wrecked near Cape Correntes, and another, under Lucas

da Fonseca, that remained at Mozambique until the next favourable monsoon.

On the 6th of March 1506 two fleets left Lisbon together for India. One, consisting of nine ships, was commanded by Tristão da Cunha, and the other, of five ships, was under Affonso d'Alboquerque. On the passage the islands of Tristão da Cunha were discovered and part of the coast of Madagascar was explored, Mozambique was touched at, and Melinde was visited. There was a feud at this time between the sheik of Melinde and the town of Oja, which was about one hundred and thirteen kilometres distant. Oja was on the coast of the mainland, and contained many well built stone houses, with a wall to protect it on the inner side; but it was without a harbour. To please the friend of Portugal, Tristão da Cunha undertook to reduce it. He sailed to the place, and having anchored in the roadstead, sent a message ashore demanding an interview with the ruler and submission to the crown of Portugal. To this he received a reply that the sheik of Oja would acknowledge no superior except the sultan of Egypt, who was the caliph in succession to the prophet Mohamed, and without whose permission he could have no dealings with strangers who were acting as enemies. The next day the Portuguese landed in two divisions, under Tristão da Cunha and Affonso d'Alboquerque, and without much difficulty defeated the inhabitants and killed the sheik. The town was then plundered and set on fire, when, as it was built partly of wood, the flames spread so quickly that several soldiers who were still seeking spoil lost their lives.

The fleet then proceeded to Lamu, a town of no great importance about ninety-six kilometres farther on. The sheik of this place was so terrified by the fate of his neighbour that he at once offered to submit and pay a yearly tribute of £268 2*s.* 6*d.* To this the Portuguese officers agreed, when the amount for that year was at once delivered, together with a quantity of provisions, so no damage was done to the town or its people.

Brava, one of the strongest cities on the coast, was next aimed at. Some of the principal men of this place had been captured in trading vessels by Ruy Lourenço Ravasco in 1503 and had been obliged to consent that it should become tributary to Portugal, but upon their return home this agreement was repudiated by the government, and every effort had since been made to prepare against attack. Upon the arrival of the fleet under Tristão da Cunha and Affonso d'Alboquerque, Diogo Fernandes Pereira, captain of the ship *Cerne*, was sent ashore to make the customary demand. The reply that he received was significant, though it was not in words: he was conducted to a spot where over six thousand armed men marched past before him. But most of these warriors were black barbarians, whose weapons were assagais and bows and arrows, so the display by no means intimidated the Portuguese.

At dawn the next morning Tristão da Cunha and Affonso d'Alboquerque landed at the head of their soldiers and sailors, and after a desperate resistance, in which forty-two Portuguese were killed and over sixty wounded, Brava was taken. The spoil was immense. Shocking barbarities were committed by some of the soldiers, who even cut off the hands of the Arab women to get the silver arm-rings which they wore. But such cruelties were not approved by every one, and some among those who regarded the butchery of defenceless Mohamedans as meritorious did not doubt that the loss of a boatload of goods and the drowning of a number of soldiers was a manifestation of God's wrath upon the evil doers for their excesses in mutilating the unfortunate females. After Brava was plundered it was given to the flames, and was left a smouldering mass of ruins.

This was by no means an end of the Portuguese conquests on the eastern coast of Africa, but formidable military opposition to their predominance, after the fall of Kilwa, Mombasa, and Brava, was with good reason regarded as no longer to be feared, and it was believed that a few armed caravels would be sufficient to control or destroy the

commerce of the whole of the Mohamedan settlements south of Magadosho.

The danger to the European adventurers thus lay elsewhere. They had as opponents the ruler of Calicut, the whole of the Moslem population on the coast of India, and those of the coasts of Persia and Arabia. To the aid of these came the sultan of Egypt, who was stirred to action by religious zeal and by the loss of the lucrative commerce that had once passed through his dominions. He fitted out a great war fleet on the shores of the Red sea, which he placed under command of a native of Kurdistan, named Husain and entitled emir, an able naval officer, and sent it to India to operate against the Portuguese. On board this fleet were fifteen hundred soldiers, belonging to all the nationalities of the Levant.

Dom Lourenço d'Almeida, who was in command of a squadron of considerable strength, was at anchor in the harbour of Chaul when the emir Husain sailed in and attacked him. He defended himself successfully until a fleet from Diu arrived also, when the opposing force became so disproportionate to his own that no hope was left except that of escape. Most of his ships managed to get away, but his own grounded, and after a desperate combat was taken when nearly every man on board was either dead or wounded. The young commander—he was not twenty-one years of age—was among the dead. During the action one of his legs was badly hurt by a cannon ball, but he had it hastily bandaged, and then took a seat by the mainmast of his ship and continued to issue orders until he was struck in the breast by another ball, when he fell back dead.

For a short time the Egyptian flag was supreme, but the viceroy collected all his ships of war, and with a much stronger force than his gallant son had commanded, he sailed from Cananor against his foe. On the 2nd of February 1509 a great naval battle was fought off Diu, which ended in the complete destruction of the Mohamedan fleet. Thereafter the supremacy of the Portuguese in the Indian ocean was

assured, for until the appearance of other Europeans there they never again had an enemy so powerful at sea to contend with, though in 1538 the sultan of Turkey sent a strong fleet against them. And now for nearly a century the commerce of the East was as much a monopoly of the monarchs of Portugal as it had previously been of the Mohamedans.

On the 5th of November 1509 Affonso d'Alboquerque succeeded the viceroy Dom Francisco d'Almeida, but had the title only of governor and captain-general. The transfer of power was delayed as long as possible, and was at last made most unwillingly; perhaps it would not have been made even then, for many officers of note supported the viceroy in resisting D'Alboquerque's claims, but the arrival of a powerful fleet under the marshal Dom Fernando Coutinho with positive orders from the king left no choice in the matter. Between the political opinions of these two high officials there was a great difference. Dom Francisco d'Almeida favoured the maintenance of a powerful fleet to command the sea, and was opposed to the establishment of many fortresses on land, as too heavy a burden for the little kingdom of Portugal to bear. Affonso d'Alboquerque was imbued with imperialistic ideas: he desired a great territorial dominion, which he believed could be easily maintained, owing to the rivalries and feuds among the various nationalities in the East. In 1510 he reduced Goa to submission and made it the capital of Portuguese India, of which the coast of Africa formed part.

Dom Francisco d'Almeida sailed from Cochin on the 19th of November 1509 in the ship *Garça*, of which Diogo d'Unhos was master, with the *Belem*, commanded by Jorge de Mello Pereira, and the *Santa Cruz*, commanded by Lourenço de Brito, in his company. On board these vessels were also the high officials who had served under him in India, whose appointments, having been for three years only, were now filled by others. Having touched at Cananor to take in some spices, he made Mozambique next,

where he was detained twenty-four days, while a leak in the *Belem* was being repaired. Continuing his passage with favourable weather, he doubled the Cape of Good Hope safely, which gave him much satisfaction. It was an age of superstition, and certain individuals in Cochin had predicted that he would never get so far on his way home, which had caused him some uneasiness, but his mind was now relieved and he thanked God that their utterances had proved false.

As the ships were in want of water they put into Table Bay, where a party of men went on shore with empty casks to fill them. Some Hottentots were found on the beach, from whom a few head of cattle were obtained in barter for pieces of calico and iron, and the trade was conducted in such a friendly manner that twelve or thirteen Portuguese subsequently requested and obtained leave to accompany the savages to their kraal, which was at a distance of five or six kilometres, probably on or near the site of the present village of Mowbray. At the kraal they were well treated, and some cattle were bartered, but on the way back a quarrel arose, from what cause it is impossible to say, as the accounts given by the early Portuguese historians are conflicting in this respect, though there is little doubt that it had its origin in a misunderstanding. At any rate a servant of D'Almeida and one of Jorge de Mello Pereira, with some others, were severely handled in the fray, and on their return presented themselves before their masters with their faces covered with blood.

At once a clamour for vengeance was raised by most of the officers, though Lourenço de Brito, Jorge de Mello Pereira, and Martim Coelho were of opinion that no notice should be taken of the matter, as very likely their own people were at fault; but the others maintained that it was necessary to imbue the savages with respect for Europeans, and prevailed upon the late viceroy to consent to an attack upon the Hottentot kraal. Accordingly before dawn of the morning of the 1st of March 1510 about a hundred and

fifty men embarked in the boats and were rowed to the head of the bay, where they landed on the sandy beach not far from the site of the present Fort Craig. A few were armed with crossbows, but most of them with only swords and lances, and they were led by D'Almeida in person, though he went somewhat unwillingly. As he left his ship he exclaimed: "Where are you taking sixty years?" that being his age at the time. Diogo d'Unhos, master of the *Garça*, was left in charge of the boats, with instructions to wait where he was until the return of the party.

The Portuguese reached the kraal without difficulty, and seized the cattle and some children, when the Hottentots, about a hundred and seventy in number, attacked them with stones and assagais of fire-hardened wood, against which their weapons proved useless, so they were obliged to retreat in disorder towards the boats. The Hottentots followed them, and increased their confusion by whistling the oxen in between to act as a protection and hurling assagais from behind with deadly effect. Many were killed on the way to the beach, and those who arrived there were dismayed to find that owing to a breeze that had set in Diogo d'Unhos had returned to the ships with the boats. On the sandy shore of the bay, too fatigued to attempt to escape by running towards the watering place where they could more easily be taken off,—as many of the soldiers were doing,—Dom Francisco d'Almeida and several others of high rank stood at the mercy of the incensed Hottentots. The royal standard was committed to the care of Jorge de Mello Pereira, who, however, was unable to save it, and just after handing it to him the late viceroy, already wounded with sticks and stones, fell pierced in the throat with an assagai.

By this time there had perished the captains Pedro Barreto de Magalhães, Lourenço de Brito, Manuel Telles, Martim Coelho, Antonio do Campo, Francisco Coutinho, Pedro Teixeira, Fernão Pereira, and Gaspar d'Almeida. Diogo Pires, who had been Dom Lourenço d'Almeida's tutor, was at

a little distance when he heard that Dom Francisco had been slain. Desiring to die by his side, he made his way to the corpse, and fell as he had wished. The slaughter still went on, but the boats were hastening towards the shore, and presently those who survived were rescued, many of them having waded out till up to their necks in water. On the shore and along the path to the Hottentot kraal lay sixty-five corpses, among them twelve of men of high rank or position, and hardly any who escaped were unwounded.

In the evening of the same day, as the Hottentots had returned to their kraal, Jorge de Mello Pereira landed with Diogo d'Unhos and a party of men to bury the dead. The corpses had been stripped of clothing, and that of Dom Francisco d'Almeida had been cut open. Those lying on the shore were hastily interred, but the others were not sought, as time was wanting and to move inland was considered dangerous. Early on the following morning the three ships set sail for Portugal.

In 1512 Christovão de Brito, when returning homeward, put into the watering place of Saldanha to visit the grave of his brother, who had fallen with D'Almeida. Diogo d'Unhos was then master of his ship, and he pointed out the place where the bodies were buried. De Brito raised a mound of earth and stones over it, and placed a wooden cross at the top, the only monument that it was in his power to erect in the time at his disposal. It would be interesting to know the exact site, but the description of the locality given by the Portuguese writers is so defective that it cannot be fixed more accurately than as being close to the sandy beach near the mouth of Salt River.

By this time many of the prominent capes and some of the bays on the coast had been named by Portuguese captains, but these cannot all be identified now. There were then no means known for determining longitudes, and the instrument commonly used for measuring vertical angles required to be firmly fixed on shore, so that the latitudes given by seamen who did not land to take

observations were usually very incorrect. On this account it cannot be stated with certainty, for instance, whether the river Infante was the present Kowie, Fish, or Keiskama, for its inland course as laid down on the maps was purely imaginary. And so with many other names. Still a considerable number can be determined with exactitude, and remain in use to the present day, though generally in an English form. Such are the following: St. Helena Bay, Table Mountain, Cape of Good Hope, False Bay, Cape Agulhas, Natal, St. Lucia Bay, Cape Correntes, and Cape St. Sebastian. Besides these, a good many corrupted Portuguese words are found on most modern maps of South Africa, but they do not always represent names given by the Portuguese to the places indicated.

Note.—There is great difficulty in correctly converting Portuguese money of the sixteenth century into its English equivalent of the present day, because the real (plural reaes and reis), in which accounts were usually kept, has been constantly changing in value. At the time of the discovery of the sea route to India it was worth a little more than an English farthing, at the present moment it is valued at less than one-twentieth of a penny. Thus to express a certain number of reis at any given time in modern sovereigns and shillings, it is necessary to know what was indicated by a real at that particular time. The rate of exchange, if that could be ascertained, would not suffice, because English coin in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was never worth its face value abroad, on account of its being so generally clipped. Another difficulty when dealing with South-Eastern Africa arises from the fact that hardly any coined money was in circulation, the matical, mitical, or mithkal as variously written, which was a certain quantity in weight of fine rough gold, being the standard of exchange. This matical differed from that of India, where it represented about seventy-three grains, while at Mozambique and Sofala, according to Antonio Nunes, who prepared tables of money, weights, and measures in 1554, it was taken to represent four hundred and sixty-seven reis. Barros also gives five hundred maticals as equal to five hundred and eighty-four cruzados of four hundred reis each.

The curator of the coin department of the British Museum did me the great favour of accurately weighing a number of Portuguese gold coins of the reigns of Manuel, João III, and Sebastião, and giving me their value in reis at the time of issue, the purity of the metal being about the same as that of the present English sovereign. The coins of Manuel and João III

were slightly worn, and showed one real to weigh ·108 of a grain Troy. One of Sebastião was in perfect condition, and weighed ·118 of a grain Troy to the real. Another of the same monarch, slightly worn, gave ·1155 of a grain Troy to the real. The present English sovereign weighs 123·27447 grains Troy, and is therefore equal in intrinsic value to nearly 1044·7 reis at the time that Castanheda, Barros, and De Goes wrote. On this basis I have converted the real during the part of the sixteenth century preceding the death of King Sebastião into English money at the rate of ·2297 of a penny, and have valued the matical at eight shillings and eleven pence farthing. I know of no better way of dealing with this question, still it may be as well for the reader to consider the sums mentioned as only approximately correct. Of course this matter has no bearing whatever upon the relative value of gold to other commodities in the early years of the sixteenth century and the present time.

The late Sir Henry Yule by a different method from that here followed found the value of the real at different times to be :

At the beginning of the 16th century .	·268*d.*
At the beginning of the 17th century .	·160*d.*
At the beginning of the 19th century .	·060*d.* to ·066*d.*
In 1886	·060*d.*

He also gives the value of the coin called São Thomé, of one thousand reis, struck by Garcia de Sá in the mint at Goa when he was governor-general of India in 1548-9, as £1 2*s.* 4*d.*, or one real equal to ·268*d.*

See *Hobson-Jobson: being a Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms; Etymological, Historical, Geographical, and Discursive.* By Col. Henry Yule, R.E., C.B., LL.D., and the late Arthur Coke Burnell, Ph.D., C.I.E. An octavo volume of 870 + xlviii pages, London, 1886. Article *Pardao*, page 837.

For information upon the real see also the *Vocabulario Portuguez e Latino*, by Padre D. Raphael Bluteau. Lisboa, 1720. Article *Real*.

Another, and still greater, difficulty in giving values arises from the fact that the Portuguese historians are not in all cases in agreement as to amounts. Thus Castanheda and De Goes state that the tribute to be paid yearly by the ruler of Kilwa was two thousand maticals of gold, while Barros states that it was five hundred. In such cases there is no other course to adopt than to decide by the balance of evidence, the weight due to the testimony of each narrator, and the probability as to which is correct. In this instance I give the preference to De Goes on account of his position as Keeper of the Archives.

CHAPTER XI.

OCCUPATION OF SOFALA AND MOZAMBIQUE.

FROM the date of Vasco da Gama's return from his first voyage to India rumours concerning the gold of Sofala had fascinated the minds of all classes of men in Portugal. Those rumours greatly exaggerated the quantity of the precious metal actually obtainable, and all the difficulties of acquiring it were lost sight of. It was believed that nothing needed to be done except to replace the Mohamedans with Christian traders, when enormous wealth would flow into the national treasury. Different efforts, as has been related, were made from time to time not only to acquire accurate information, but also to get possession of the gold trade; and Sancho de Toar and Da Gama himself on their visits to Sofala had obtained much knowledge, though before 1505 all attempts to secure the commerce of that place had failed.

Dom Francisco d'Almeida was to have erected a fortress there, but Pedro d'Anaya, who had been selected as its captain by the king, lost the ship in which he was to have sailed by her sinking in the Tagus, and was thus unable to accompany the fleet. After its departure the original design was enlarged, and it was determined to make ready a squadron of six ships with which he should proceed to Sofala. When the fortress was completed three of these were to be sent on to India, and the other three, under Francisco d'Anaya as commodore, were to be kept to guard the African coast. On board these ships everything was laden that could be needed for the equipment of the fortress, as well as a stock of merchandise for the purpose of barter, and on

the 18th of May 1505 they sailed from the Tagus. Pedro d'Anaya was in command of the *Santo Espirito*, the largest in the squadron. The other captains were his son Francisco d'Anaya, Pedro Barreto de Magalhães, João Leite, João de Queiroz, and Manuel Fernandes, the last of whom was appointed factor at Sofala.

On the passage, when off Sierra Leone, João Leite, while endeavouring to harpoon a fish, fell overboard and was drowned. The crew then elected Jorge Mendes to be their captain. In heavy weather some of the ships got separated from the commodore, who ran so far south to make sure of passing the Cape of Good Hope with a westerly wind that the men could not work the sails on account of the cold, but he was soon in warm latitudes again, and early in September arrived off the bar of Sofala with the ships commanded by his son and Manuel Fernandes. There he anchored, and awaited the appearance of the remainder of his squadron before entering the river.

The next to arrive were the *Santo Antonio*, under command of Jorge Mendes, and the *São Paulo*, of which João de Queiroz was captain when she left Portugal. They brought word that De Queiroz, after parting from the others in a storm, put into a curve on the South African coast then named Bahia das Vacas, now Flesh Bay,* and being in want of meat, proceeded three or four kilometres inland with twenty of his people in search of cattle. Antonio do

João de Barros states that this took place at the present Delagoa Bay, which he terms Rio da Lagoa, and fixes its position as about four hundred kilometres south of Cape Correntes. Damião de Goes and Fernão Lopes de Castanheda state that it took place at the Bahia das Vacas. Manuel de Mesquita Perestrello, in the report of his survey of the South African coast, also gives this as the scene of the occurrence. It is possible that Barros may have fallen into an error through there being then a bay named Alagoa on the southern seaboard, as may be seen in the *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis* of Duarte Pacheco, written before the death of King Manuel, in which its position is given as fifteen leagues east of the watering-place of São Bras, that is the locality of the present Plettenberg's Bay. The description of the Bahia Alagoa of Pacheco also answers to Plettenberg's Bay.

Campo, when returning from India, had touched at the same place, and though treated in a friendly manner by the inhabitants, had seized several of them and carried them away, so that De Queiroz found them hostile. They attacked him, and in a skirmish he and fifteen of his party, including the sailing master and the pilot of his ship, were killed. Only the secretary, Antão de Gá, who was badly wounded, and four others escaped. There was no one left who could navigate the ship, but fortunately she fell in with the *Santo Antonio*, and Jorge Mendes sent on board his sailing master and as captain a gentleman named João Vaz d'Almada, who conducted her to Sofala.

The last to arrive was the ship commanded by Pedro Barreto de Magalhães. She anchored near Cape Saint Sebastian, and as her pilot was unacquainted with the shoal of Sofala and would not venture upon it, Antonio de Magalhães, brother of the captain, was sent in a boat to seek assistance from any vessel that might have reached her destination. On the way he put into a river, where he found five half famished Portuguese, who had a doleful story to tell.

They had belonged to the ship of Lopo Sanches, which had sailed from the Tagus with Dom Francisco d'Almeida. South of Cape Correntes stormy weather was encountered, and the ship became so leaky that she could not be kept afloat, so she was run ashore to save the lives of her people An abundance of provisions was saved, and also ample material to build a caravel, but discord arose, and the authority of Lopo Sanches was completely disregarded. After a time sixty men set out to travel overland to Sofala, where they hoped to find a Portuguese fort in course of erection, and the others remained at the wreck constructing a caravel. Of these last nothing was ever heard again. Those marching overland suffered so terribly from hunger that they became scattered, and most of them perished The five found by Antonio de Magalhães had been living for twenty days upon raw crabs alone. They were taken

into the boat, and conveyed to the flag ship anchored outside the bar of Sofala.

Pedro d'Anaya at once sent the vessel under João Vaz d'Almada with the pilot of the *São João*, Francisco d'Anaya's ship, to the assistance of Pedro Barreto de Magalhães, with whose arrival some days later the squadron was complete. He then made arrangements for entering the river. The two largest ships were left outside, and with the four smallest he crossed the bar and cast anchor in front of the lower Mohamedan village. The real condition of things there at the time seems to have been unknown to him. In point of fact, the true owner of the land was a Bantu chief, and the Mohamedans were living at the port on sufferance and payment of tribute in the form of yearly presents, but he regarded Isuf as the sovereign proprietor whose consent alone was necessary to enable him to build a fort without the use of arms.

As soon as he had dropped anchor some of the principal inhabitants went on board, and desired to know the object of his visit, to which he replied that he wished to have a conference with the sheik. To this they at first raised many objections, such as the distance to his residence, the great age and infirmity of the sheik, and the impossibility of the ships going farther up the narrow river; but at last they consented, and went in advance to prepare for the captain's reception. D'Anaya followed them with a large number of armed attendants, in boats decorated with flags and with trumpeters sounding their instruments.

Having arrived at the upper village, he landed and proceeded to the sheik's residence, where he was courteously received. In the large hall were gathered the leading men of the place, clothed from the waist downward with calico wrappers, with silken turbans on their heads, and scimitars with ornamented ivory handles at their sides. In a recess hung with cloth of silk at the upper end of the hall, Isuf, a man of large stature, but infirm, blind, and about seventy years of age, reclined on a cushioned couch, or as it would

be termed in South Africa a katel, made by stretching thongs of hide across a frame of wood. He was more richly dressed than the others, and frail as he was, had still a stately and commanding appearance. D'Anaya, leaving his soldiers in the courtyard, which was enclosed with a thick thorny hedge, with the officers entered the hall. The men there, who were seated on low three-legged stools, rose and bowed to salute him, and he passed through to the couch of the sheik.

The people of Sofala had heard of the occurrences at Kilwa and Mombasa, and were divided in opinion as to how they should act. Mengo Musaf, a son-in-law of Isuf, was at the head of a party that wanted to resist the Christians by force, but another party was filled with fear, and the old sheik thought it wiser to rely upon the effects of the climate rather than upon arms. He therefore greeted D'Anaya apparently in a most friendly manner, and when the captain spoke to him of the advantages to be gained by the establishment of a Portuguese fort and trading station, and by his coming under the protection of the king of Portugal, taking care to draw his attention to the fact that his villages had often been pillaged by Bantu clans in the neighbourhood, he professed to agree with what was said, and gave his consent to the erection of the proposed buildings. He stated that he was a friend of Europeans, and as a proof twenty Portuguese whom he had rescued from starvation were brought forward by his order and restored to the society of their countrymen. They were the only remaining survivors of the sixty who had left the wrecked ship of Lopo Sanches, and who had gone through almost incredible suffering in their overland journey.

There were feuds between nearly all the Mohamedan settlements on the coast, and not only that, but in each of them there were jealousies among the principal inhabitants, which made them an easy prey to the Portuguese. It was so at Sofala. At this place there was living a man named Acote, an Abyssinian by birth, who had been made a

captive when he was only ten years of age, and who had embraced the Mohamedan faith from necessity rather than choice. He had come to occupy a position of influence, and was at the head of a party at variance with Mengo Musaf, Isuf's son-in-law. As the one advocated armed resistance to the Portuguese, the other acted as their friend, and now Acote offered his services to the Christians. Through him D'Anaya engaged a number of Bantu who were at Sofala, and on the 21st of September 1505 set about building a fort on a sand-flat on the northern bank of the river near its mouth. It was in the form of a square, large enough to contain barracks for the garrison, storehouses, a warehouse for goods, and quarters for the officers. No stone was procurable near at hand, so a moat, a hundred and twenty paces long on each side, was dug, and the earth taken out was formed into a wall, which was supported by stakes and beams of mangrove wood. The structure was thus of the roughest description, but it was regarded as sufficiently strong for defence until time and favourable circumstances would permit of something better taking its place.

After three months' labour the fort and the buildings within it were completed. The heaviest work, such as carrying wood from the mangrove swamps, was performed by the blacks, though on one occasion they were induced by Mengo Musaf to desert for several days. Acote continued to assist, and the Portuguese, who were spared as much as possible from severe toil, were not as yet stricken with much sickness. In the mean time the vessel commanded by Gonçalo Vaz de Goes, which Dom Francisco d'Almeida had sent from Mombasa with a cargo of calico, part of the spoil of that town, arrived in the river. Her lading together with the stores and merchandise brought from Portugal was then taken on shore, and the three largest ships were made ready to proceed to India. Gonçalo Alvares, previously chief pilot, was appointed captain of the *Santo Espirito*, and sailed with João Vaz d'Almada and Pedro Barreto de Magalhães, the latter acting as commodore.

They were to report themselves to the viceroy, under whose directions they were to take in cargoes of pepper and return to Lisbon. On crossing the bar of Sofala the commodore's boat was lost with most of the men in her and the chest of money intended for the purchase of the pepper, and in leaving Kilwa, where he put in, he had the further misfortune of losing his ship.

A few days after the departure of this squadron Francisco d'Anaya was sent with the *São João* and the *São Paulo* to cruise along the coast, and with him the vessel under Gonçalo Vaz de Goes and the remaining one that had come from Portugal went to Mozambique. On his passage northward he captured a ship from India laden with calico, and having sixty Mohamedans on board. This ship was subsequently wrecked, when he caused all the prisoners to be put to death, through fear of their rising against him. A zambuco laden with ivory also fell into his hands, and her crew shared the fate of the others. But his ruthless barbarity was soon checked. Both the *São João* and the *São Paulo* were lost, one at Mozambique and the other a little farther north, and the commodore, on arriving at Kilwa in the captured zambuco, was put under arrest by Pedro Ferreira Fogaça on a charge of carelessness in the king's service. He was permitted, however, soon afterwards to proceed to India to be tried there.

At Sofala fever, which had not been very prevalent at first, now began to spread to an alarming extent, and at the close of the year the greater number of the men composing the garrison were laid up with it. A more wretched condition than that in which they were, on the border of a mangrove swamp, in a hot and pestilential atmosphere, drinking the impure water of wells, and cut off from all companionship, can hardly be imagined. Their mental and bodily suffering must have been so great that death, which was stalking among them, would be regarded as a relief. Trade was carried on, for the factor Manuel Fernandes seemed to be fever proof, but the quantity of gold obtained in barter was small compared with their earlier expectations or those of the

king. They had not even the satisfaction therefore of knowing that their suffering was productive of pecuniary profit to the treasury of their country.

While they were in this state, early in January 1506 Acote informed Pedro d'Anaya that the faction of Mengo Musaf with Isuf's concurrence had come to a determination to wait no longer for fever to do its work, but to drive away the Christians at once; and as they were afraid to make war themselves, they had persuaded a Bantu clan to assist them in attacking the fort. That they had good cause to oppose the Portuguese, who were striving to wrest the commerce of the country from them, is evident. But perhaps there was another and stronger reason for openly assuming a hostile attitude. In the *Legends of India* Gaspar Correa states that the treatment of the people of the country by the Christians was the cause of it, and on such a question his evidence is certainly of great weight. He says they were treated worse than slaves, and though the captain Pedro d'Anaya punished some of the offenders when complaints were made to him, the disorderly conduct of the soldiers went on increasing until at length it caused hostilities. By none of the historians, it is true, is there any reference made to immoral or overbearing behaviour by the white men, but they were not given to finding fault in such matters when only Mohamedans or heathens were affected.

There was a Bantu clan in the neighbourhood of Sofala, under a chief named Mokonde, who was induced by the prospect of plunder to ally himself with the Mohamedans. The two parties joined, and advanced against the fort, armed with scimitars, assagais, and bows and arrows. There were at the time only thirty-five Portuguese capable of bearing arms inside, and even most of these were weak with fever; but Acote had come to their assistance with about a hundred men, and they were enclosed within walls on which artillery was mounted. The assailants filled the moat with wood, and then endeavoured to scale the wall, at the same time pouring in a shower of arrows and assagais. Some of these weapons were

burning, the object being to set fire to the roofs of the buildings, but Pedro d'Anaya had provided against this by removing the thatch from the houses that were most exposed and laying in a good supply of water. Very little harm was done therefore beyond wounding a few of Acote's people. On the other side the defenders with their artillery and crossbows caused such execution that the enemy, finding their efforts useless to break down or get over the wall, after a time began to withdraw discomfited. Pedro d'Anaya with fifteen of the healthiest Portuguese and some of Acote's followers then sallied out and attacked them with swords and lances, putting them completely to flight.

During three days, however, they frequently renewed the attack, though always with the same result. Their camping ground was a palm grove at no great distance, within easy range of the artillery, where some damage was caused to them not only by the balls but by splinters of wood from shattered trees. D Anaya had two powerful dogs, which were of such use in keeping watch by day and night and attacking the enemy in sallies that he attributed his preservation largely to them. In the end the Bantu, upon whom the principal part of the fighting fell, were suddenly seized with a conviction that the Mohamedans had brought them there purposely to ensure their destruction, and under this impression they fled homeward, plundering Isuf's village on their way.

That evening Pedro d'Anaya mustered as many men as he could, and in a large boat that he had went up the river. His spies had informed him that Isuf's residence was poorly guarded, as no attack was expected from the fort on account of the sickness there. He proceeded straight to it, and met little resistance as he forced his way in; but the old sheik, though blind, seized an assagai from a bundle that he always kept beside him, and hurled it in the direction of the advancing footsteps. The captain was slightly wounded by it in the neck, but in another instant Isuf's head was rolling on the ground, severed from his body by the sword of Manuel Fernandes. With it as a trophy the Portuguese

returned to the fort, where it was set up on the point of a lance upon the wall to strike awe into those who had been his subjects.

On the morning following this daring raid the slain sheik's sons raised as large a force as they could and attacked the fort again. But their efforts were fruitless, as they could not get over the wall, and the defenders kept up a deadly fire upon them, by which many were killed and wounded. Even the sick assisted with their crossbows, danger acting upon them more powerfully than medicine. Having failed in this attempt, the Mohamedans began to quarrel among themselves as to who should be their ruler, and they actually applied to the Portuguese to settle the question. Both Damião de Goes and Fernão Lopes de Castanheda state that Pedro d'Anaya made Acote sheik, in return for the services performed by him, and the friar João dos Santos confirms this account and relates that in 1586 he found people still living at Sofala who remembered the building of the fort and the events that followed it. But João de Barros says that through Acote's influence a son of Isuf named Soleiman was made sheik, and that he lived at peace with the Portuguese and in obedience to them until 1507, when he was deposed by Vasco Gomes d'Abreu, captain of Sofala, who selected one of his brothers to succeed him. This brother and some of the principal Mohamedans of the place, it is added, were subsequently banished, as their presence was considered prejudicial to Portuguese interests, and they all died in exile.

Such conflicting statements make it difficult to arrive at the truth, and there are no original documents relating to the transaction to refer to. Very likely, however, Acote was made sheik of the Emozaidi, as he is stated to have been of that sect, and Soleiman sheik of the other Mohamedans; and as the nominal authority of the sons of Isuf was lost so soon afterwards, their names were speedily forgotten. However this may be, Portuguese supremacy was so firmly established that the Mohamedans never again ventured to dispute it.

A few days after these occurrences Pedro d'Anaya was stricken with fever, of which he died. It was a custom at a later date for every officer in command of a remote and secluded station to carry with him a sealed letter from the king, in which temporary successors were named in rotation, so that in case of his death or disability some one would be legally in charge until a new appointment could be made. There being no one at Sofala with such authority, the factor Manuel Fernandes, who was the highest in rank of the officials at the fort, assumed the vacant position. He was a man of great energy, and with only the few sick and enfeebled soldiers under his command he managed to build a strong stone tower at one of the corners of the fort. Carved and dressed blocks for doors and windows had been brought from Portugal, so only the plain work had to be done, but the execution of this was regarded as so meritorious under the circumstances that the king granted him as a reward a coat of arms with a tower emblazoned on it surmounted by a sheik's head, in remembrance of his having killed Isuf.

A few months after Pedro d'Anaya left Lisbon a ship and a caravel were fitted out to take supplies to Sofala and also to search along the South African coast for the crew of Pedro de Mendonça's wrecked vessel and for one in which Francisco d'Alboquerque had sailed from India and that had not since been heard of. Cyde Barbudo was in command of the ship, with authority as commodore, and Pedro Quaresma was in command of the caravel. The principal pilot had acted in the same capacity under Lopo d'Abreu, and had seen Pedro de Mendonça's ship in the position where she was supposed to have been lost, consequently he knew what part of the coast should be examined.

These vessels left the Tagus on the 19th of November 1505, and ran down to thirty-seven degrees and a half south latitude, when they turned to the north-east expecting to make the land beyond the Cape of Good Hope, but so far out were they in their calculations that they reached the western coast more than thirteen hundred kilometres north

of Table Bay. Even at the beginning of the sixteenth century there were few such instances of error in navigation. Steering again to the south, on the 18th of April 1506 they cast anchor at the watering place of Saldanha, where they remained eight days. Cyde Barbudo now removed to the caravel, taking his pilot with him, in order to examine the coast, and Pedro Quaresma assumed command of the ship. After sailing from Table Bay they counted the pillars, as the expression then was, that is they kept so close to the land during daylight that they could see everything along it, and on the 2nd of May they reached the watering place of São Bras, which they recognised by the hermitage built there by João da Nova.

As they had passed the coast some distance to the westward by night, Cyde Barbudo now tried to run back along it in the caravel, but was unable to do so owing to a strong head wind. He therefore again dropped anchor in Mossel Bay, and sent a convict and a ship's boy to search along the shore. After travelling three days along the beach they returned, and stated that they had found a man's skeleton and part of a mast, beyond which no information was ever obtained concerning the lost ship of Pedro de Mendonça. Her crew must have perished, like many others in later years, in a land inhabited only by barbarians. It was never known either what was the fate of Francisco d'Alboquerque and those with him, whether they went down at sea, or were wrecked on some desolate coast and died there.

On the 16th of May the two vessels left the watering place of São Bras, and keeping close to the shore whenever possible, on the 10th of June Cyde Barbudo arrived at Sofala and Pedro Quaresma on the following day. They found the fortress in the last stage of distress. The captain Pedro d'Anaya, as has been already related, had died of fever, as had also the magistrate and seventy-six of the soldiers, and the provisions were nearly exhausted. Cyde Barbudo reinforced the garrison and replenished the stóres, and then sailed for India, leaving Pedro Quaresma in the

caravel to assist Manuel Fernandes. This vessel was afterwards employed for a time in plying between Sofala, Mozambique, and Kilwa, taking provisions and goods from one place to another as they were needed.

On his passage to India Cyde Barbudo touched at Kilwa, where he found matters in a state of confusion. King Manuel had issued instructions prohibiting barter by private persons with Kaffirs for gold, in order to secure the whole trade for the royal treasury, and Pedro Ferreira Fogaça had fitted out a couple of small vessels to assist in suppressing the traffic that had thus become illegal. Among other prizes made by them was one on board of which was a son of the sheik of a small settlement near Kilwa, and as he was a relation of the former emir Abraham, the Portuguese captain kept him and his family prisoners. Mohamed Ankoni, who wished to gain the goodwill of his neighbours, hereupon ransomed the young sheik at his own expense, made him presents of rich clothing, and sent him and his family to their home. The young man's father was profuse in expressions of gratitude, and invited Mohamed to visit him, suggesting marriages between their children. The *king* of Kilwa accepted the invitation, and was murdered while he was lying asleep in the zambuco in which he went. The treacherous sheik, by whose order the deed was committed, excused himself by saying that the duty of avenging the emir Abraham, whose blood relative he was, was more binding upon him than gratitude for a favour conferred by such a man as Mohamed Ankoni.

At once there was a dispute as to the succession. A few of the inhabitants of Kilwa and most of the Portuguese officers were in favour of Hadji Husain, son of Mohamed Ankoni; but Pedro Ferreira Fogaça and the great majority of the Mohamedan people desired that Micante, the legitimate heir of the ancient rulers, should be appointed. The dispute aroused strong feeling on both sides. The cessation of commerce caused by King Manuel's order and the capture of their vessels under any pretence by the Portuguese threatened

ruin to the mercantile class, so that from one cause or the other large numbers of people were leaving the town with the intention of settling somewhere else, and it appeared as if Kilwa would soon be uninhabited. This was the condition of things when Cyde Barbudo put into the harbour, and which he reported to the viceroy as soon as he arrived in India.

Dom Francisco d'Almeida immediately appointed a new staff of officials for Sofala. He selected Nuno Vaz Pereira, a man of generally recognised ability, to be captain, and gave him in addition large powers as commissioner to settle affairs at Kilwa. Ruy de Brito Patalim accompanied him as chief alcaide of the fortress, and Antonio Raposo and Sancho Sanches as notaries. A number of gentlemen without office, who were attached by friendship to the new captain, also went with him. Among these were Luis Mendes de Vasconcellos, Antonio de Sousa, and Fernão Magalhães who afterwards entered the service of Castile and discovered the strait which still bears his name. Francisco d'Anaya at the same time returned to Sofala to look after the property left by his father. In order that Pereira might appear in a manner befitting his dignity, the viceroy sent two ships under his flag, the one in which he sailed himself and another commanded by his nephew.

At the end of November 1506 he reached Melinde, where the Portuguese were always well received. The dependent position of the ruler of that town is shown, however, by his receiving as a favour on this occasion permission to send under twenty kilogrammes weight of Indian beads to Sofala to be exchanged for gold. At Melinde Nuno Vaz Pereira learned all particulars of the condition of things at Kilwa. He saw at once that King Manuel's order regarding trade was causing the depopulation of the two places on the coast—Sofala and Kilwa—where it could be enforced, owing to the presence of Portuguese garrisons; and that elsewhere it was having little effect beyond exasperating the Mohamedans. In their light zambucos the people of all the

other settlements could run close along the shore, and enter the rivers, particularly the Zambesi, where they could carry on commerce without fear of capture. It appeared to him that if the ocean was so guarded that supplies of goods could not be obtained by sea from India, the traffic would be diverted into a route mainly overland: it could not be destroyed by any force which Portugal could furnish. On the other hand, by permitting private trade the people of Kilwa would remain there, and the king's treasury would be benefited, for they would purchase goods wholesale at the Portuguese factory and pay for them in gold, ivory, and other produce of the country. Nuno Vaz Pereira therefore took upon himself the responsibility of suspending the king's order as far as Kilwa was concerned, and announced that its people might carry on trade again in exactly the same manner as in the time of the emir Abraham until further instructions should be received from Lisbon.

This course of action had the desired effect. In the middle of December the commissioner arrived at Kilwa, and with him were more than twenty zambucos filled with emigrants returning to their homes. He caused Micante and Hadji Husain to appear before him and state their cases, and with them he summoned all the principal men of the town to express their opinions and wishes. The general voice was in favour of Micante, but to make it plain that the Portuguese had the right of appointing any one they chose, as Hadji Husain produced the patent granted by Dom Francisco d'Almeida to his father, decision was given in his favour, and he was proclaimed *king* of Kilwa. The inhabitants, who were elated with the privilege of being able to carry on trade again, submitted without open remonstrance, though they were by no means satisfied.

Nuno Vaz Pereira, after thus arranging matters at Kilwa, appointed his friend Luis Mendes de Vasconcellos to a vacant office in the fortress, and then sailed for Sofala, where he took over the captaincy from Manuel Fernandes. This officer, feeling aggrieved that after his display of so much

zeal and energy he had not received the fixed appointment to the first position in the place, declined to resume the duty of factor, and proceeded to India when the ships that brought Pereira returned.

In the mean time intelligence of the death of Pedro d'Anaya had reached Lisbon, and the king, not knowing that the viceroy had sent a successor, appointed Vasco Gomes d'Abreu captain of Sofala. Ever since the first voyage of Vasco da Gama the island of Mozambique had been used as a place of refreshment by the Indian fleets both in going and returning, but as yet no establishment of any kind had been formed there. Sofala was not adapted for a port of call, being dangerous to approach with large vessels, and not having sufficient depth of water on the bar to enable them to enter the inner harbour. It was considered advisable therefore to form such an establishment at Mozambique that the fleets should always be able to obtain whatever they needed, that if they were obliged to wait on the coast for a change of monsoon they might have a good and easily accessible port to lie at anchor in, and that a properly furnished hospital might be ready for the reception of scurvy stricken soldiers and sailors arriving from Europe. For these purposes Vasco Gomes d'Abreu was instructed by the king to erect the necessary buildings, and a competent staff was provided to perform the duties. It was not intended that Mozambique should be a separate government, but a dependency of Sofala, one captain having command of both places. He was to reside at the island, whenever possible, during the months in which the Indian fleets usually arrived there, and during the remainder of the year at Sofala, leaving a subordinate officer at each place to carry out his orders during his absence. Duarte de Mello was appointed factor of the new establishment, and Ruy Varella notary.

Vasco Gomes d'Abreu sailed from the Tagus on the 20th of April 1507 as commodore of seven ships. The one in which he sailed and four others, commanded respectively by

Lopo Cabreira, Pedro Lourenço, Ruy Gonçalves de Valadares, and João Chanoca, were to remain as a fleet of war to guard the African coast south of Melinde and suppress the ocean traffic of the Mohamedans, and the other two, under Martim Coelho and Diogo de Mello, were to join the naval force commanded by Affonso d'Alboquerque on the coast of Arabia. At Cape Verde João Chanoca's ship ran on shore at night and was lost, but the people on board got safely to land, and after being plundered by the negroes, were rescued by the commodore.

The new captain arrived at Sofala on the 8th of September 1507, and the government was immediately transferred to him by Nuno Vaz Pereira, who embarked in the ship under Ruy Gonçalves de Valadares, that was to be sent on to Mozambique. On the 19th she and the vessels under Martim Coelho and Diogo de Mello sailed, and soon afterwards fell in with a ship under command of Jorge de Mello Pereira that had left Portugal for India before them. The greater number of her crew were helpless with scurvy, so they kept her in company and gave her as much assistance as they could. On the 24th of October they all reached Mozambique, where they found they could go no farther until the change of the monsoon, and there they were joined in a few days by three other ships on the way to India, commanded by Fernão Soares, Filippe de Castro, and Henrique Nunes de Lião. Duarte de Mello and the other officers appointed by the king to the Mozambique establishment had been sent on with Ruy Gonçalves de Valadares to prepare stone for the buildings to be erected, and Vasco Gomes d'Abreu sent with them the plans that had been prepared in Portugal and letters to the commanders of any ships that might be there, requesting them to assist in the work, as it was for the service of the king, and he would be unable for some time to leave Sofala to direct it in person.

One and all, the captains of the various ships at anchor in the harbour entered with enthusiasm into the matter. The stone was soon quarried, lime was prepared, and then, as

Vasco Gomes d'Abreu did not make his appearance, they set about building. They had plans of all that was to be done, and the parts of the structures that required skilled workmanship or foreign materials had been brought from Portugal, so that rapid progress could be made. They first erected a large and comfortable hospital with its necessary appurtenances, which would have been of the greatest advantage if the climate of the island had not been so unhealthy that serious illness was almost invariably followed by speedy death. Men afflicted with scurvy, however, arriving there during the least insalubrious months, might hope to escape the deadly fever and dysentery, and to recover from that complaint. And scurvy, it must be remembered, was in those days of long voyages and no other diet than salted provisions the disease most dreaded by Europeans frequenting the eastern seas.

A church, dedicated to Saint Gabriel, was the building next taken in hand. It is said by the early historians to have been large and well finished and ornamented, but it is probable that most of the ornamentation was done at a later date, and that little more than the walls and roof was completed at this time. A large space around it was enclosed for a cemetery, and here the graves were soon more numerous than in any other churchyard of the Portuguese out of Europe, so great was the mortality among the sick landed from the outward bound Indian fleets, notwithstanding the care and attention bestowed upon them in the hospital.

Lastly a fort, with magazines and quarters for the officials and the garrison, was commenced. The fort was on the site of the present residence of the governor, and was nothing more than a square two-storied building, though it answered the purpose for which it was intended for more than half a century. The warehouses were large, as the king had resolved to make Mozambique a depôt from which goods should be distributed to all parts of the African coast, and to which the gold, ivory, ambergris, wax, gum, and other products of the continent should be sent to be forwarded to India or Europe. Here also were to be stored everything

needed for the repair of damaged ships and supplies of provisions for such as should be in want of them. These buildings were commenced in 1507 by the men of the ships detained in the harbour by the unfavourable monsoon, and were completed after their departure by those stationed on the island, with such assistance as could be obtained from fleets that called.

Thus the island of Mozambique, which to-day is the principal seat of government of the Portuguese on the eastern coast of Africa, was taken in possession without any opposition on the part of its Mohamedan occupants. Vasco Gomes d'Abreu, to whom the task of forming the establishment there was entrusted, never saw the work that had been done. After strengthening the garrison of Sofala and landing supplies of provisions, he erected a new hall and improved the buildings in the fort, and while this was being done a caravel of forty tons burden was put together, the timber for which had been brought from Portugal ready prepared. Then having generally arranged matters at that place, he left the chief alcaide Ruy de Brito Patalim in command during his absence, and set sail with the three ships of his squadron and the caravel. Whether he intended to proceed to Mozambique or to cruise along the coast was not known, and some persons even suspected that he designed to explore the island of Madagascar, where it was rumoured that valuable spices were to be found. Some time after he set out the fringe of one of those terrible cyclones that occasionally cause widespread destruction in the islands of the Indian sea passed over Sofala, and it was supposed that he perished in it. Nothing but a broken mainmast, which drifted on shore at Kilwa, was ever seen of any of the three ships or the caravel again.

Ruy de Brito Patalim remained in command until September 1509, when Antonio de Saldanha, whom the king appointed captain of Sofala and Mozambique when the death of Vasco Gomes d'Abreu was no longer doubtful, arrived at the gold port and took over the government. At the same time Duarte Teixeira assumed duty there as factor. It had been

ascertained by experience that goods of European manufacture were not in demand by the Bantu, so that henceforward only Indian wares—chiefly calico and beads—were sent to Sofala to be bartered for gold and ivory. The calico was of a coarse but strong kind, and was usually sold in squares, though sometimes in pieces about three metres and a half in length and one in width, to be used as loin cloths. The beads were of various sorts, as the fashion in colour and size was constantly changing. These articles and some others in smaller quantities were brought from India to Mozambique in Portuguese ships, and were there stored in the king's warehouses until requisitions were sent from Sofala, Kilwa, and other trading stations, to which they were forwarded in the caravels employed on the coast.

Kilwa did not long remain a garrison town. Hadji Husain, who had been made its *king* by Nuno Vaz Pereira, turned his whole thought to avenging the death of his father, and by means of large gifts obtained the assistance of a powerful Bantu tribe under a chief with the high-sounding name of Munhamonge, that is Lord of all. This chief with a strong army marched by land, while Hadji Husain with as many Mohamedans as he could muster by devotion, pay, or force proceeded by sea, and together they attacked the settlement of the treacherous sheik and completely destroyed it. Munhamonge and his followers were rewarded with most of the captives and the spoil, and Hadji Husain was satisfied with revenge, though the sheik himself escaped.

Everywhere on the coast the Mohamedans were indignant that a man who had gained the distinction of being a hadji by making a pilgrimage to Mecca should have called in the aid of Kaffirs against people of his own faith, and should have left disciples of the koran as slaves in the hands of infidels. This indignation was increased by the haughty attitude assumed by Husain, who, relying upon Portuguese protection, wrote to the different sheiks in the country in a tone of superiority, and by the heavy taxation which he imposed upon his subjects to make good the personal losses he had

sustained by his gifts to Munhamonge. To all Mohamedans, subjects and strangers alike, he became an object of detestation. The friendly ruler of Melinde and the vassal ruler of Zanzibar, who was believed to be thoroughly loyal to King Manuel, wrote to the viceroy that if he wished for peace in the land he should deprive Husain of power, and Dom Francisco d'Almeida, to put an end to the disturbance, instructed Pedro Ferreira Fogaça to depose the *king* of Kilwa and substitute another. This was accordingly carried into effect. Hadji Husain, who feared assassination if he remained in his native town, merely begged to be sent to Mombasa, and there shortly afterwards he ended his days in extreme poverty and distress.

The vacant situation was first offered to the fugitive emir Abraham, whose acceptance of it would have satisfied every one; but he distrusted the Portuguese so much that he declined the overture. It was then given to Micante, the former rival of Hadji Husain. This man's habits were those of a licentious drunkard, and he soon became as much despised by the Portuguese as hated by his subjects on account of his cruelty and his lawless amours. The consequence was that numbers of the people of Kilwa abandoned the place and joined Abraham, who was living at some distance on the mainland.

The three years term of office of Pedro Ferreira Fogaça having expired, he was succeeded by Francisco Pereira Pestana as captain of Kilwa. This officer found affairs in great disorder, and depression ruling among the people owing to the trading regulations that were again being enforced by order of King Manuel. Foreign commerce by sea was entirely cut off, and intercourse with the Bantu was restricted as much as possible, because the king and his advisers feared that Mohamedan influence might prevent the reception of Christianity by these people. Nuno Vaz Pereira's opinion that the treasury would not suffer by allowing the inhabitants of Kilwa to barter gold as in olden times might be correct, but the pious king had the propagation of the Christian

faith also at heart, and could not permit it to be endangered. And so the largest, best built, and most famous town on the East African coast, the town that once had dominion from Melinde to Cape Correntes, was dwindling away to an insignificant village.

Things were in this condition when Micante declared war against Abraham, of whom he was extremely jealous. The emir had a strong body of followers, and he obtained powerful Bantu allies, with whom he not only drove back the army sent against him, but made a descent upon Kilwa in his turn. There were at the time only forty Portuguese soldiers in the fort capable of bearing arms, all the others being ill with fever. The healthy men went to Micante's assistance, but were defeated in an engagement, and several of them were killed, though the fort was not taken. After this there were many incursions on both sides, in one of which Abraham's party suffered heavy losses as they were crossing the strait between the island and the mainland, and one of his nephews was made prisoner. Still nothing decisive occurred, and hostilities went on with no other result than destruction of property and loss of life. Micante indeed gained some respect from the Portuguese by his personal valour, and he was as submissive to them as could be desired, but otherwise there was little or no improvement in his conduct.

When information of this reached King Manuel he determined to withdraw the garrison from Kilwa, which was no longer a place of any importance either for strategic or commercial purposes. Affonso d'Alboquerque was then governor-general of India, and cared nothing about the retention of a stronghold established by Dom Francisco d'Almeida, so took no steps to change the king's decision. Orders were issued to Francisco Pereira Pestana to dismantle the fort, remove the king's property of every kind to ships provided for the purpose, and retire to Socotra with the men under his command. As Micante was entirely dependent upon the Portuguese, this order deprived him of all power and influence. He fled to Querimba, where he died in poverty

and obscurity. Negotiations were opened with the emir Abraham, who at first suspected treachery, but when the Portuguese had embarked and were ready to set sail he consented to an interview on the water with Francisco Pereira Pestana, and was recognised by him as ruler of Kilwa in vassalage to King Manuel. Abraham accepted the position, and kept his agreement faithfully as long as he lived. The fugitives from the town returned, and order was restored under the emir's prudent management, but the importance and glory of the place were gone for ever. Under the stringent commercial regulations that were in force it sank almost out of sight within a very few years. Thus the first fort built and occupied by the Portuguese on the border of the Indian sea was the first abandoned by them, and that while they were still in the full career of conquest and under the direction in the east of the great Affonso d'Alboquerque.

Sofala was now the station where it was hoped the greatest profit from trade would be gained, as it was the port from which the Mohamedans had sent away all the gold and much of the ivory obtained in South-Eastern Africa. But the Portuguese were as yet without experience of the only way of obtaining these articles, and imagined that if they could prevent the former itinerant dealers from going inland and could keep up a good supply of merchandise in their factory, everything that the country produced would be brought to them for sale at their own prices. The Mohamedan mixed breeds, living like Kaffirs and caring little whether they were one month or twelve on an expedition, travelled about the country with a few slaves carrying their wares, and if gold and ivory were not at hand, were content to wait till they were collected, all the time tempting the blacks by a display of articles that they coveted most. The Portuguese, on the contrary, sat still and waited for what never came.

Among the officers who accompanied Pedro d'Anaya when he went to build the fortress and establish the factory was one named Diogo d'Alcaçova, who remained there long

enough to learn the condition of affairs in the country, but as he suffered much from fever, was sent to India by an early opportunity. He professed to have made a special study of the gold barter, and sent to the king a long report upon it, which is still in existence. In it he stated that in former times from four hundred and forty-six thousand eight hundred and seventy-five to five hundred and eighty thousand nine hundred and thirty-seven pounds sterling worth of gold was exported from Sofala every year. This was certainly far beyond the real quantity, for considering the relative value of gold to other merchandise then and now, such an amount would have represented a trade vastly greater than the appearance of Sofala when first visited by Europeans would warrant one in believing it possible to have been carried on there. That little or none was brought to the Portuguese factory while he was resident in it he attributed to wars between different sections of Bantu, which made the country unsafe to travel in. Peace was not concluded between the different factions, he thought, because the Mohamedan rulers of Kilwa and Sofala, who could bring it about, were unwilling to do so, as they did not wish the Christians to obtain the profits of the trade.

In September 1508 Duarte de Lemos, an officer of ability who was then in charge of a ship, wrote to the king from Mozambique that only £894 to £1341 worth of gold had been obtained at Sofala from the departure of Vasco Gomes d'Abreu to that time. He believed that it was plentiful in the country, and there was an abundance of merchandise in the factory, still it was not brought for barter. In his opinion the reason was that the Mohamedans along the coast south of Mozambique were all engaged in a smuggling trade, which could not be prevented, as they conveyed the gold and their goods in little boats and fishing canoes that it was not possible for the caravels guarding the sea to capture. Merchants from Arabia and Persia resorted to secluded places, and maintained this clandestine trade, providing the retail dealers with goods and receiving the gold

from them in return. Even in Mozambique he believed there were some merchants from the north engaged in this traffic, so detrimental to the king's treasury. Certain it was that they purchased from the crews of ships arriving there calico which the men had for sale on their own account, and which they obtained for a mere trifle. There was but one remedy for the evil in his opinion, and that was to expel every Mohamedan from the whole country south of Mozambique. Sofala, he was assured, was not an unhealthy place, for during the preceding year not a single individual had fallen ill there. The only article of European manufacture that could be used in commerce in the country was Flemish linen, which would need to be broad enough to be used for loin cloths.

That a considerable trade was carried on by the Mohamedans with the Bantu in defiance of the Portuguese is highly probable, but that it amounted to a very large sum in gold yearly is not at all likely. The difficulty of getting goods into the country must have prevented that. The Mohamedans had always lived by commerce, and no doubt were shrewd and wary dealers, they knew the country and its people and could easily escape observation by the Christians, but without a source of supply, now that their ships were destroyed and their connection with India entirely cut off, they could not traffic to the extent the Portuguese believed they were doing. Possibly they may have dealt in a very small way in native made cloth, but even that would have necessitated their possession of beads and bangles, which they could only obtain at great risk by means of zambucos coming down from the north. According to Duarte Barbosa they were reduced to such straits that they began to cultivate cotton and manufacture loin cloths themselves, but this, if correct at all, can only have been on a very limited scale.

In October 1512 Antonio de Saldanha, who had then served the full term of three years as captain of Sofala, was succeeded in that office by Simão de Miranda de Azevedo,

with whom came as factor a very intelligent man named Pedro Vaz Soares. When the captain was absent on his periodical visits to Mozambique, the factor acted as commandant of the fort, and in that capacity on the 30th of June 1513 he wrote to the king a long and interesting report upon the condition of things there, which, unlike most of the documents of that period, has fortunately escaped destruction. Before this report was written a slight change had taken place in respect to commercial transactions with Mohamedans. From those at Sofala gold was now bartered in exchange for merchandise, though they could only obtain it by going inland and dealing with the Bantu, thus to that extent at least the earlier regulations had been relaxed. Mohamedans were also employed by the Christians in various capacities, though only to a limited extent, and under circumstances where no other persons could perform the same service.

Soares reported that during the eight months of his residence at Sofala he had only obtained in barter gold to the value of from £2905 to £3128, the greater part of which was procured from the Mohamedan residents. Bantu traders from the interior he had seen so seldom that from them he had not bartered £223 worth. The country was in a state of perfect peace, and every one was free to come and go in security, for the captain had made agreements to that effect with numerous Bantu chiefs and was paying them fixed subsidies every six moons to keep the trading routes open. There was gold in various parts of the country, but no one possessed a sufficient quantity to make it worth his while to bring it to Sofala for sale, therefore the Mohamedans went inland with merchandise and established fairs at suitable places. These Mohamedans secretly prejudiced the Christians in the eyes of the Bantu, whom they discouraged from proceeding to the factory by telling them that goods were dearer there than in the interior as offered for sale by them. The gold that was procured was mostly in very small pieces made into tiny beads, only a trifling proportion

being melted into nuggets, such as were obtainable on the western coast of Africa.

The receipts of the factory were not more than sufficient to cover the cost of its maintenance and that of the caravels employed on the coast below Mozambique, and on one occasion the captain was even obliged to make use of the property of deceased persons to meet current expenses. Soares was of opinion that under these circumstances retrenchment was advisable, as a smaller and less expensive establishment would serve the purpose now that the land was at peace and the Portuguese perfectly secure. The Mohamedans at the islands of Angosha and on the lower banks of the Zambesi, he asserted, drew away the greater portion of the trade, on which account they ought to be expelled, when matters would improve.

The captain Simão de Miranda de Azevedo had endeavoured to establish a trading station on the Zambesi and explore the river upward, and for that purpose had sent an embassy to a Bantu chief residing on a large island between two mouths of the stream to propose friendship and alliance with him. A favourable reply was received, upon which a caravel was despatched to the river with a quantity of merchandise and a factor and secretary. Some respectable Mohamedans of Sofala were engaged to go in her to be the means of communication with the chief, to whom presents of some value were forwarded. Upon her arrival the resident Mohamedans induced the chief to ask that her captain with the factor and secretary should visit him to ratify his agreement with the Portuguese, and when they with a bombardier who acted as interpreter went on shore for the purpose without suspicion of danger, all were immediately murdered. The Sofala Mohamedans, who were on land at the time, swam off to the caravel, which was soon afterwards attacked by a number of zambucos containing men armed with bows and arrows. Her crew defended themselves with their crossbows and bombs, and were fortunate enough to be able to cut their cables and escape.

Soares reported that a considerable quantity of ivory was procurable, and that a very large profit was to be made on it. Since his arrival he had bartered for articles of trifling value about three thousand kilogrammes, which had been sent to India to meet the cost of merchandise that had been applied for.

Of the affairs of Sofala during the time that Christovão de Tavora was captain, that is from 1515, when he succeeded Francisco Marecos who acted for a few months after the death of Simão de Miranda de Azevedo, to 1518, when Sancho de Toar assumed the command, nothing is known. The original reports are no longer in existence, and the early historians are silent about the place, from which, however, it may be assumed that nothing of consequence occurred. Sancho de Toar, the same officer who was sent by Pedro Alvares Cabral to gather information about the locality and the gold trade, became captain of Sofala in September 1518, and at the same time Francisco de Brito took over the duties of factor. In circumstances similar to those under which Pedro Vaz Soares reported to King Manuel six years earlier, De Brito on the 8th of August 1519 addressed to the same monarch a long letter, which is still preserved in the archives at Lisbon.

At that time trade and even communication with the interior was cut off, owing to internecine wars among Bantu clans or tribes. A powerful chief named Inyamunda, who resided at no great distance from Sofala, was engaged in hostilities with the monomotapa, the people of Manica, and others farther inland; and the trading routes were closed, as travellers were liable to be robbed and murdered. At the factory therefore the outlay was as usual, while there was hardly any income, a condition of things which was very dispiriting to the officials. A vessel from India bringing merchandise for Sofala had arrived at Tshiloane, an island about fifty-six kilometres distant, and had discharged her cargo, consisting of calico of different qualities, beads, pieces of tin, and small coins. The cost price of these articles is

stated by the factor, and also the price at which they were bartered in Sofala when any trade was being done, from which it is seen that the smallest profit on any thing was four hundred per cent, and that on some things it rose to two thousand eight hundred per cent. The pieces of tin and the coins that were not required to pay salaries were evidently disposed of as ornaments, for money was not in use by the Bantu, all transactions with them being by barter. During the eleven months that De Brito had been factor he had obtained gold to the value of a little over £358 and eight thousand four hundred kilogrammes of ivory, of which the cost is not given.

Sancho de Toar had resolved to establish a trading outpost on the southern bank of the Zambesi about fifty-six kilometres above its mouth, and for that purpose had caused a square timber tower to be constructed, which could be taken to pieces and conveyed in caravels to its destination, there to be put together again. The completion of the plan had been delayed, however, as one of the caravels had recently been wrecked at Tshiloane, and another, which had been built at Mozambique to assist in guarding the coast, had been lost on the bar when bringing a cargo of millet for the use of the fort. She had not long previously taken a prize, but had left part of the spoil at Mozambique, and the remainder was on board when she was wrecked. This had happened only a few days before the letter was written. Sancho de Toar had immediately resolved to have another caravel built, as well as a smaller vessel to be stationed at the Kuama mouth of the Zambesi to prevent the entrance of zambucos with merchandise for the Mohamedan traders. Francisco de Brito's chief desire was to get away from a place where neither honour nor profit was to be had, and he earnestly begged the king to transfer him to some other post in India.

In neither of the reports from the factors of Sofala which are still in existence is any mention made of ambergris or pearls, though Duarte Barbosa, who wrote about the same

time, states that both were articles of trade among the Mohamedans. Probably the Portuguese had not yet an opportunity to obtain them in barter, as they could so easily be concealed and removed from place to place. The pearls, obtained at the Bazaruta islands, were said to be greatly damaged and discoloured by the method used in extracting them, which was by placing the oysters in embers until the flesh was dried away. The pearl fishers were nearly all Mohamedans or slaves, as the Bantu did not engage in the occupation unless compelled to do so by extreme want.

With the report of Francisco de Brito, the substance of which has been given, direct and indirect information alike ceases concerning Sofala until some time after the death of King Manuel the Fortunate, which took place on the 13th of December 1521, and the accession of his son, João III, to the throne of Portugal. That matters there remained without much change as successive captains and factors came and went and the graves of the victims of malarial fever and dysentery grew ever more numerous is, however, certain, for the next clear view given by either historian, chronicler, or manuscript records reveals a state of things differing little from that described.

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CHAPTER XII.

INTERCOURSE OF THE PORTUGUESE WITH THE BANTU.

WHEN the European fort and trading station at Sofala was formed in 1505 the predominant people in the country between the rivers Sabi and Zambesi were the Mokaranga as termed by the Portuguese, or Makalanga as pronounced by themselves, a word which means the people of the sun. This tribe occupied territory extending from the shore of the Indian ocean to the interior of the continent far to the west, but just how far it is impossible to say. Along the southern bank of the Zambesi and scattered here and there on the sea coast were clans who were not Makalanga by blood, and who were independent of each other. South of the Sabi river lived a tribe named the Batonga, whose outposts extended beyond Cape Correntes.

There are people of this name in various parts of South Africa still, but it does not follow that they are descended from the Batonga of the sixteenth century. The country has often been swept by war since that time, and of the ancient communities many have been absolutely destroyed, while others have been dispersed and reorganised quite differently. There is not a single tribe in South Africa to-day that bears the same title, has the same relative power, and occupies the same ground, as its ancestors four hundred years ago. The people we call Mashona* are indeed descended from the Makalanga of early Portuguese days, and they preserve their old name and part of their old country, but the contrast

*This is a contemptuous nickname given to them by their enemies, and adopted by us unwittingly.

between their condition and that of the tribe in the period of its greatness is striking. Discord, subjection, and merciless treatment from conquerors have destroyed most of what was good in their forefathers.

This tribe—the Makalanga or Makaranga, the *l* and *r* being interchangeable—was the one with which the Portuguese in the territory south of the Zambesi had most to do. Its paramount chief was called by them the monomotapa, which word, their writers state, meant emperor, but it seems to have been unknown in the dialect spoken by the tribe itself. In the dialects of some other Bantu communities, however, it means ruler or possessor of the mountain as a stronghold or holy place, and from some of them the Portuguese may have adopted it. That at Kilwa it could have been used as lord of some mountain of note is certain from the fact that a Portuguese writer, in relating the exploits of a chief whose name or title was Munyamonge, says that word meant master of the world, and his statement is perfectly correct, for it is literally lord of all.

To the Makalanga of the present day the word monomotapa is entirely unknown, and a great many words in their dialect differ so much from those used by other South African tribes to signify the same things that in it such a name would have no meaning at all. Instead of mong or mone for ruler, as in the Sesuto monemotse, chief of the village, the Tshikalanga word is she. Instead of thaba or intaba, a mountain, as used by nearly all other Bantu tribes in South Africa, the Makalanga say igomo. These words may not have been in use by their ancestors four hundred years ago, but some trace of the title monomotapa, which was retained by the Portuguese to a date more than two centuries later, would probably still remain if it had ever been employed by the Makalanga themselves.

The great place, or residence of the monomotapa, was close to the mountain Fura, now Mount Darwin, which, as long as he could prevent it, he would not permit a Portuguese to ascend, probably from some superstition connected with it,

though they believed it was because he did not wish them to have a view over as much of his country as could be seen from its top. The Bantu, when going to the great place, most likely used the expression going to the mountain, for the Portuguese soon began to employ the words *á serra* in that sense, without specially defining what mountain was meant. In our own time one of the titles of the Basuto chief Moshesh was lord of the mountain, owing to his possession of the celebrated stronghold Thaba Bosiho, and the Kalanga chief probably had his title of monomotapa given to him by other tribes from his possession of Mount Fura.

Much of this is merely conjecture, but nothing absolutely certain can now be ascertained from old records or books, or from the Makalanga of the present day, concerning the word monomotapa. When, or in whatever manner it came into use, the Portuguese employed it to signify the paramount or great chief of the Kalanga tribe, and applied it to all who in succession held that office.

Some interest is attached to this word *Monomotapa*, inasmuch as it was placed on maps of the day as if it was the name of a territory, not the title of a ruler, and soon it was applied to the entire region from the Zambesi to the mouth of the Fish river. Geographers, who knew nothing of the country, wrote the word upon their charts, and one copied another until the belief became general that a people far advanced in civilisation, and governed by a mighty emperor, occupied the whole of South-Eastern Africa.

Then towns were marked on the chart, and rivers were traced upon it, and men of the highest standing in science lent their names to the fraud, believing it to be true, until a standard map of the middle of the seventeenth century was as misleading as it was possible to make it. Readers of Portuguese histories must have known this, but no one rectified the error, because no one could substitute what was really correct. And even in recent years educated men have asked what has become of the mysterious empire of Monomotapa, a question that can be so easily answered by reading

the books of De Barros, De Couto, and Dos Santos, and analysing the Tshikalanga words which they repeat. Such an empire never existed. The foundation upon which imagination constructed it was nothing more than a Bantu tribe. The error arose mainly from the use of the words emperor, king, and prince to represent African chiefs, a mistake, however, which was not confined to the Portuguese, for it pervades a good deal of English literature of the nineteenth century, where it has done infinitely more to mislead readers than those expressions ever did in times gone by.

The Kalanga tribe was larger and occupied a much greater extent of territory than any now existing in South Africa. It was held together by the same means as the others, that is principally by the religious awe with which the paramount chief was regarded, as representing in his person the mighty spirits that were feared and worshipped. There was always the danger of a disputed succession, however, when it might not be certain which of two or more individuals was nearest to the line of descent and therefore the one to whom fealty was due. How long the tribe had existed before the Portuguese became acquainted with it, and whether it had attained its greatness by growth or by conquest, cannot be ascertained, but it cannot have occupied territory south of the Zambesi more than two or three centuries at the utmost, and very shortly afterwards it was broken into several independent communities.

The tribe belonged to that section of the Bantu family which in general occupies the interior of the country. It was divided into a great number of clans, each under its own chief, and though all of these acknowledged the monomotapa as their superior in rank, the distant clans, even with the religious bond of union in full force, were very loosely connected with the central government. Thus those near the coast were found by the Portuguese making war on their own account, and acting otherwise in a manner that among Europeans would be regarded as indicating perfect independence. There was one peculiar custom, however, that

prevented them from forgetting their dependence upon the paramount chief. Every year at a certain stage of the crops a command was sent throughout the country that when the next new moon appeared all the fires were to be put out, and they could only be lit again from the spreading of one kindled by the monomotapa himself.

The Makalanga had developed their religious system and their industries more highly than any of the other tribes of Southern or Eastern Africa. Of all the Bantu they had the largest proportion of Asiatic blood in their veins, which will account for their mental and mechanical superiority. Almost at first sight the Europeans observed that they were in every respect more intelligent than the blacker tribes along the Mozambique coast. Their skulls more nearly approached those of Europeans in shape, many of them had the high nose, the thin lips, and the general features of the people of South-Western Asia. Even their hands and feet were in numerous instances small and well shaped, unlike those of ordinary blacks, which are large and coarse. Their appearance thus indicated a strong infusion of foreign blood, though not sufficient to denationalise them as Bantu. That blood may not have been Arab alone, it is likely that some was Persian, and possibly some Indian. But they were neither so robust nor so courageous as many of their neighbours. Like their near kindred the Basuto and Bapedi of to-day, they were capable of making a vigorous defence in mountain strongholds, but were disinclined to carry on aggressive warfare, and could not stand against an equal number of men of a coast tribe in the open field. Their language was regarded by the Christians as being pleasanter than Arabic to the ear.

When the Portuguese in 1505 first came in close contact with the Makalanga, the tribe had been engaged in civil war for twelve or thirteen years, and was in a very unsettled condition. A monomotapa, Mokomba by name, had made a favourite of the chief Tshikanga, one of his distant relatives, who was hereditary head of the powerful clan which occupied the district of Manika. Some other chiefs became jealous of

the privileges conferred upon this man, and took advantage of his absence on one occasion to instil in the monomotapa's mind that he was a sorcerer and was compassing the death of his benefactor. Thereupon the monomotapa sent him some poison to drink, but instead of obeying, he made an offer of a large number of cattle for his life. The offer was declined, and then in despair he collected his followers, made a quick march to the great place, surprised Mokomba, and killed him.

Tshikanga then assumed the government of the tribe. He endeavoured to exterminate the family of his predecessor, and actually put twenty-one of Mokomba's children to death. Only one young man escaped. After four years' exile, this one, whose name is variously given as Kesarinuto or Kesarimyo, returned and collected a force which defeated the usurping monomotapa's army. Tshikanga then took the field himself, adherents gathered on both sides, and a battle was fought which continued for three days and a half. On the fourth day Tshikanga was killed, when his army was dispersed, and Kesarimyo became monomotapa. But Tshikanga's son would not submit, and with his ancestral clan kept possession of the Manika district, and carried on the war. To this circumstance the Portuguese attributed the small quantity of gold that was brought to Sofala for sale from the interior of the country. In course of time the war was reduced to a permanent feud, Tshikanga's clan became an independent tribe, and Manika was lost to the monomotapa.

For many years after their occupation of Sofala the Portuguese lived on fairly good terms with the Makalanga, and after the failure to drive them from the fort in Isuf's time no attempt was made to expel them from the country. They paid subsidies in the form of presents to the nearest chiefs of note, and so secured their good will and freedom for trade. These presents usually consisted of beads, bangles, pieces of coarse calico, and other inexpensive articles, so that the value of the whole was trifling. In return the

chiefs sent a tusk or two of ivory, which was often worth as much as what they received.

But even after the employment of the Mohamedans as agents to collect gold and ivory, the amount of commerce carried on was very far short of the earlier anticipations of the Europeans. Their next effort to increase it was by stationing individuals at outposts on the Zambesi, which at first were quite unprotected, and existed entirely by the favour of the people in whose lands they were situated. After various ineffectual attempts by other officials, in 1531 Vicente Pegado, the ablest and most enterprising of all the early captains of Mozambique and Sofala, who had then resided a year in the country, succeeded in establishing a fair at the place afterwards known as Sena, where there was a small Mohamedan village. The particulars of this event are not now on record in manuscript that can be found, and the historians of the time were so deeply engrossed with the stirring deeds of their countrymen in India that they altogether neglected transactions of comparatively little importance in South Africa, but no imagination is needed to understand how it must have taken place. The Bantu would certainly not object to the presence of unarmed traders, and the Mohamedans, who at an earlier date would have acted either as open or secret enemies, were then in a condition of dependence upon the Portuguese. The contraband trade, as the Europeans termed it, had been almost completely suppressed. There was but one place where foreign merchandise could be obtained, and that was the king's warehouse at Sofala. The factor there, acting under instructions from his government, fixed the price of everything and required an enormous profit on whatever he bought or sold, but a portion of the retail bartering with the Bantu was again in the hands of those who had once enjoyed a monopoly of it. So the Mohamedans at Sena would not object to getting their supplies at home, instead of going to Sofala for them, and besides it was to their interest not to offend their employers. Thus the fair or

trading-post of Sena came into existence, and the quantity of ivory and gold obtained was so much increased that the captain Vicente Pegado was rewarded for his exertions by being retained in office for the unusual term of eight years.

The exact date of the formation of a similar outstation at Tete cannot be ascertained, but it was not long after the establishment of the fair farther down the river. At both these places for many years white men lived in the same precarious manner as the first English traders in the Xosa country three centuries later. Favoured by the chief one day, abused and robbed by him the next, nothing but the prospect of considerable gain could induce any others than missionaries to exist in such a condition. Those at Sena and Tete were of the class that accommodates itself readily to barbarian habits, and in morals at least were little above the Bantu with whom they associated.

In 1544 the factory of Kilimane was founded on the northern bank of the river of Good Tokens, about twenty-four kilometres from the sea. The object was partly to carry on commerce with the Bantu in the neighbourhood, but principally to command the route to the interior by that stream, which was then more used during several months of the year than the other outlets of the Zambesi. The station is still in existence, but as it is beyond the territorial limits dealt with in this narrative, it will not be referred to again.*

In the same year the captain of Sofala and Mozambique sent two men named Lourenço Marques and Antonio Caldeira in a pangayo on an exploring voyage to the southward. They inspected the lower course of the Limpopo river, and ascertained that copper in considerable quantities was to be obtained there from the inhabitants. They then

*Mr. F. C. Selous, the celebrated hunter, who visited it in 1889, describes it as quite a small place, but says the houses of which the town consists are well-built, and their red-tiled roofs look very pretty and picturesque amongst the palm trees and banana groves by which they are surrounded. The single street is lit on moonless nights with oil lamps.

examined the great bay which before that time had been obscurely known as Da Lagoa. Three large rivers flowing from different directions,—known now to British geographers as the Maputa, the English, and the Manisa,—discharge their waters into this bay, and it was believed that the central one of these, or rather the central one of the streams now called the Tembe, the Umbelosi, and the Matola, which have as their estuary the English river, had its source in a great lake far in the interior, hence the Umbelosi and the English were named Rio da Lagoa, and the bay Bahia da Lagoa.

On the banks of the Umbelosi the explorers saw a great number of elephants, and purchased tusks of ivory from the inhabitants at the rate of a few beads for each. In the neighbourhood of the Maputa river, which they next visited, elephants were also seen, and ivory was plentiful. The chief of the tribe that occupied the country between this river and the sea, whose hereditary title was Inyaka, was very friendly to his European visitors. Though quite black, he was a fine looking old man, with a white beard, and as Marques and Caldeira fancied his features bore some resemblance to those of Garcia de Sá, then captain of Malacca, who was subsequently — 1548-9 — captain-general and governor of India, and one of whose daughters, Dona Leonor, wife of Manuel de Sousa de Sepulveda, in 1552 perished in a most pitiable manner on the shore of this very bay, they gave him that official's name. We shall meet him again, particularly in the account of the wreck of the galleon *São João*, and shall find that his friendship for white people was not a mere passing whim.

The inspection of the country around the bay was followed by a change of names. The Umbelosi—with its estuary the English river—was thereafter termed by the Portuguese Rio de Lourenço Marques, though geographers of other nations continued to call it the river De Lagoa, until the restoration in recent years of its Bantu name. The bay—previously Bahia da Lagoa—now took the name among the Portuguese

of Bahia de Lourenço Marques, though to all other Europeans it remained known as Delagoa Bay, and it is still so called.

In 1546 King João III issued instructions that Lourenço Marques should be provided with a suitable vessel to complete the exploration of the coast and to open up a trade with the residents on the shores of the great inlet. This was done, and thereafter a pangayo was usually sent every year or every second year from Mozambique to obtain ivory. While they were engaged in bartering by means of boats manned by mixed breeds of Mohamedans that went up the different rivers, the traders resided on one of the islands Inyaka—so called by the Portuguese from the title of the chief Garcia de Sá,—Elephant, or Shefina, where some rough huts were built for their accommodation, and as soon as all the tusks that had been collected by the inhabitants were purchased, they returned to Mozambique. No permanent factory or fort was built at this place until a much later date. Lourenço Marques probably remained some years in charge of the trade at the bay which bore his name, as in 1557, in reward for his services there, he was appointed intendant at Cochin.

At Inhambane, or Nyambana as termed by the Bantu, which is about three hundred and seventy kilometres farther up the coast, a similar trade was carried on from this time forward by means of a pangayo sent every year or two from Mozambique. Temporary huts were erected on the site of the present village, off which the pangayo lay at anchor until the traders were ready to return. Neither here nor at Delagoa Bay, any more than at Sena or Tete, did the Portuguese authorities attempt to exercise the slightest control over the Bantu inhabitants. Their object at all these places was simply and solely to carry on commerce, and not by any means to involve themselves in difficulties. At times indeed the traders were subject to gross ill treatment from barbarous chiefs, which they were obliged to endure patiently, without any effort being made to retaliate or redress their wrongs.

After trade at these places was opened, from thirty to thirty-six thousand kilogrammes of ivory were usually collected at Mozambique and sent from that island to India every year until 1551, when only a little more than five thousand kilogrammes was obtained. The quantity subsequently rose again, but fluctuated greatly according to the condition of the country as regarded peace or war.

The Portuguese, whether soldiers or traders, were in South Africa so circumstanced that they degenerated rapidly. A European female was very rarely seen, and nearly every white man consorted with Bantu women. Fever, when it did not kill them outright, deprived them of energy, and there was nothing to stimulate them to exertion. Cut off from all society but that of barbarians, often until towards the close of the sixteenth century without the ministrations of the church, sunk in sloth, and suffering from excessive heat and deadly malaria, no lives led by Europeans anywhere could be more miserable than theirs.

The Bantu termed them Bazunga,—singular Mozunga,—and were generally well disposed towards them. Individual white men often gained the confidence of chiefs, and exercised great influence over them. Instances were not wanting of such persons abandoning their former associates, and going to reside permanently either on tracts of land presented to them, where they became petty rulers, or at kraals, where they held authority of some kind under the chiefs. Thereafter they were usually regarded as renegades, though their mode of living was little worse than that of many of their countrymen at the fort and trading stations.

This was the condition of affairs in South-Eastern Africa during the reign of King João III, a period far less glorious in the history of Portugal than that in which his father Manuel the Fortunate sat upon the throne. To outward appearance the country exhibited every mark of prosperity, and its commerce and wealth were the wonder of Europe, but the zenith of its greatness was passed before the sixteenth century had

run half its course. The king had many sons, but all died in childhood except the youngest, Dom João, who married the infanta Joana, daughter of the emperor Charles V. He died in early manhood, on the 2nd of January 1554, eighteen days before his widow gave birth to a boy, who received the name Sebastião. On the 16th of June 1557 this child of little more than three years of age became by his grandfather's death sovereign of Portugal, and as his mother had retired to Spain, his grandmother, Dona Catharina, daughter of Philippe I of Castile and widow of the deceased monarch, became regent of the kingdom.

Corruption had by this time become so general among the Portuguese in India that even a virtuous viceroy such as Dom João de Castro was powerless to check it. They retained indeed the daring spirit of their fathers, so that military prowess was conspicuous still, but beyond that avarice had become their ruling passion. To collect wealth, whether honestly or dishonestly hardly mattered, had become the great object of their lives, and as power was theirs, under such circumstances good government was impossible. Even at this early period the rapacity of the officials was preparing Portuguese India for the fate that overtook it as soon as a rival European power dealt it a puny blow. Eastern Africa was included in India, and if a course of spoliation was not practised there, the reason was that no weak peoples other than the Mohamedans existed sufficiently wealthy to be despoiled.

Before 1545 Mozambique had been without other protection than the slight defensive works constructed when the island was first occupied. In that year Dom João de Castro put in there on his way to Goa to assume the government of India, and was struck with the weakness of a place of such importance. In his opinion the position of the so-called fort was not only bad in a military point of view, but was insanitary as well. He selected another site, gathered some materials, and during his short stay constructed a small outwork for temporary use. Upon his report of the condition

of the island reaching Lisbon, the king gave orders for larger and better defensive works to be built, but the death of the eminent viceroy followed soon afterwards, and the matter was then allowed to fall out of sight.

The power that Portugal had to contend with now in the eastern seas was the Grand Turk, in the zenith of his pride, and aided always openly or secretly by one or other Mohamedan state. To put a fleet upon the waters of the Indian ocean, every part of the material, wood, iron, cordage, and canvas, had to be conveyed up the Nile to Cairo, and thence on the backs of camels to the shipyards of Suez, a seemingly impossible task. Yet that it could be done had been proved by the sultan Soleiman II in 1527, and still more conspicuously in 1538. On the 22nd of June of this year the faithless and ferocious pasha Soleiman, who had governed Egypt for the sultan at Constantinople, sailed from Suez with a great fleet built of materials so transported from European Turkey, having with him a powerful force of janizaries. His siege of the fort of Diu—4th September to 5th November 1538—and its heroic defence by Antonio da Silveira with only six hundred men, most of whom lost their lives before Soleiman withdrew discomfited to commit suicide rather than be put to death by his master for having failed in the enterprise, must be regarded as among the most memorable events in the history of India. This Antonio da Silveira who, with only forty men left capable of bearing arms, with his ammunition exhausted and his provisions consumed, saw from his battered and half destroyed fort the remnant of the Turkish fleet sail away, had been captain of Sofala and Mozambique from 1524 to 1527, but had there no opportunity of distinguishing himself in any way.

From the time of the pasha Soleiman's defeat onward Turkish subjects in smaller force were encountered, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, allied with Indian princes; and it was apprehended that an attempt to secure the eastern commerce might again be made by them with a very powerful armament. To be prepared for such an

occurrence, in 1558 among other measures the regent Dona Catharina resolved to construct a fortress of the first class at Mozambique, and to make the island the residence of the highest official in authority on the African coast. Previously there had been no permanent garrison, and the captain had resided during the greater part of the year at Sofala, which was regarded as the more important place of the two. Henceforth each was to have a captain, but the one at Sofala was to be subordinate to the one at Mozambique.

To plan the new fortress, an engineer architect was sent out who was a nephew of the archbishop of Braga, and had learned his profession in Flanders. He selected as the best site the eastern extremity of the island, off which ships passed to and from the anchorage, and there on the margin of the sea he laid the foundations of the massive walls that afterwards arose. The fortress was quadrilateral in form, with a bastion at each angle, and was so large that from eighty to a hundred guns could be mounted on its ramparts. The whole structure was termed Fort São Sebastião, but the outwork at each angle had its own name, the one first passed when coming in from sea being called Nossa Senhora, the one nearest the anchorage São João, the landward one on the inner side of the island São Gabriel, and the landward one on the outer side Santo Antonio. The walls were of great height, which subsequent experience proved to be disadvantageous. A work of such magnitude, though the heaviest labour was performed by slaves, required many skilled artisans, and could only be slowly carried on. The political condition of Portugal also retarded progress, so that the sixteenth century was nearly ended before the walls and the numerous buildings they enclosed were fully finished. The want of fresh water was at first regarded as its principal defect, but this was remedied in course of time by the construction of enormous cisterns, which contained an ample supply to last from one rainy season to another. From the mainland water was brought for the shipping.

After laying out the fortress at Mozambique and preparing plans for carrying on the work, the architect proceeded to Daman to perform a similar duty there. After that was done he returned to Europe and entered a religious order, when he was favoured by Philippe II of Spain, and from his designs parts of the Escurial were constructed. Thus in Fort São Sebastião there exists a specimen of the highest skill of the sixteenth century.

The conversion of the heathen to Christianity was from the very beginning of the Portuguese explorations and settlements in Africa and India kept constantly in view by the king and by the authorities of the Roman catholic church, but the far East offered the most promising field to the Franciscans, Dominicans, and other long established religious orders, and there were no men to spare for the enlightenment of the barbarous tribes between the Zambesi and the bay of Lourenço Marques. The whole territory east of the Cape of Good Hope to Japan had formed a single see since March 1539, when Dom João d'Alboquerque assumed duty at Goa as first bishop of India. But even the Portuguese themselves were neglected in Africa, for the garrison of Sofala was seldom provided with a chaplain, and Sena and Tete were left altogether without one.

On the 27th of September 1540, however, a bull was issued by Pope Paul III, approving of the order founded by Ignatius Loyola, and the Company of Jesus, the greatest and most zealous of all the missionary associations of the Roman catholic church, came into existence. Within seven months, on the 7th of April 1541, the celebrated Francisco Xavier sailed from Lisbon for India, and he was soon followed by others into various parts of the heathen world. The first college of the order was founded at Coimbra by João III of Portugal in 1542, and speedily attracted within its walls many of the most religious and most energetic of the youth of the kingdom. Into this college in 1543 a young man of noble parentage, named Gonçalo da Silveira, a native of Almeirim on the Tagus, sought

admission for the purpose of completing his education. Shortly afterwards he entered the order, and in 1556 was sent to Goa. There he became conspicuous for his zeal and general ability, and it was mainly owing to his exertions that the magnificent church of São Thomé was built in the capital of Portuguese India.

On one of the voyages of the little vessel that went occasionally from Mozambique to Inhambane to purchase ivory, a son of a chief of some importance was induced to return in her. It was the custom to treat such persons with much attention, in order to secure their friendship, and the young chief was greatly pleased with the favours that he received. In course of time he professed his belief in Christianity, and was baptized with all the pomp that was possible in the church of São Gabriel, the captain of Sofala and Mozambique being one of his godfathers. When the vessel made her next voyage he returned to Inhambane, and induced his father to send a request to the Portuguese captain that he might be supplied with missionaries. This request was forwarded to Goa, where it was referred to the provincial of the Jesuits, with the result that the fathers Gonçalo da Silveira and André Fernandes, with the lay brother André da Costa, were directed to proceed to South-Eastern Africa, and attempt to convert the natives there to Christianity. Dom Gonçalo was the head of the party, and was entrusted by the viceroy Dom Constantino de Bragança with friendly messages and presents for the chief who had made the application and for the paramount ruler of the Kalanga tribe.

On the 2nd of January 1560 the missionaries sailed from Chaul, and after a pleasant passage reached Mozambique on the 4th of February, where they found a trading vessel nearly ready to sail for Inhambane. She was only a zambuco, with so little accommodation that, as one of them wrote, they could neither lie down comfortably, stand erect, or exercise their legs in her, but on the 12th of February they embarked, together with two Portuguese—one of whom

was to be their guide — and a black man who was well acquainted with the coast. The zambuco was to touch at Sofala on the way. At this place they arrived after a passage of twenty-seven days, and here they secured the service of a halfbreed born at the fort, named João Raposo, who spoke Portuguese and Tshikalanga with equal fluency, and who was a handy man in other respects, as he had travelled much in the country. After five days' stay at Sofala, the zambuco sailed again, and eight days later reached Inhambane, where five Portuguese were found trading for ivory.

Dom Gonçalo and the lay brother were suffering severely from fever, and landed in such a debilitated condition that for a time their lives were despaired of. Their countrymen, however, took such care of them that shortly they began to mend, and as soon as they were out of danger the father André Fernandes was sent in advance to the kraal of the chief who had applied for missionaries, to announce their arrival and to request that carriers might be provided to convey the others in hammocks. The distance of the kraal from Inhambane is stated to have been thirty leagues, but as the father André Fernandes and those with him traversed it on foot in three days and a half, it can hardly have been so far. The name of the place is given by the missionaries as Otongwe, and of the chief as Gamba. He was the head of a clan of Makalanga that had been driven from its own country in a war with its neighbours, and had taken refuge in territory occupied by the Batonga, where it had acquired a right of possession by force of arms. This condition of things at once accounts for its desire to secure the friendship of the Portuguese. Father André Fernandes and João Raposo, who was with him, were provided with a hut to live in, and carriers were despatched who brought up the others seventeen days later. Dom Gonçalo and André da Costa arrived so weak that they could hardly stand, but the father soon became stronger, and the lay brother was sent back to the coast for a time to recuperate.

Shortly after their arrival the mission party—the first in South Africa—witnessed a striking instance of the nature of the heathenism they had come to destroy. A son of the chief had just died, and the witchfinder had pointed out an individual as guilty of having caused his death by treading in his footprints, whereupon the man accused was tortured and killed. They found, too, people in the last stages of sickness abandoned by every one, even their nearest relatives, who feared that death—the invisible destroyer—might seize them as well as the decrepit, if they were close at hand when he came.

Having delivered the complimentary message of the viceroy and his present, the missionaries were very well treated. Huts were given to them to live in, and they were supplied with abundance of food. They commenced therefore without delay to exhort the people to become Christians. There is a custom of the Bantu, with which they were of course unacquainted, not to dispute with honoured guests, but to profess agreement with whatever is stated. This is regarded by those people as politeness, and it is carried to such an absurd extent that it is often difficult to obtain correct information from them. Thus if one asks a man, is it far to such a place? politeness requires him to reply it is far, though it may be close by. The questioner, by using the word far, is supposed to be under the impression that it is at a distance, and it would be rudeness to correct him. They express their thanks for whatever is told to them, whether the intelligence is pleasing or not, and whether they believe it or not. Then, too, no one of them ever denies the existence of a Supreme Being, but admits it without hesitation as soon as he is told of it, though he may not once have thought of the subject before.

The missionaries must have been deceived by these habits of the people, for they were convinced that their words had taken deep root, and within a very short time they baptized about four hundred individuals at the kraal, including the chief and his family. The chief received the name

Constantino, his principal wife Isabel, and his sons and counsellors the names of leading Portuguese nobles. It is not easy to analyse the thoughts of those uncultivated barbarians, but certainly what they understood by this ceremony must have been something very different from what the missionaries understood by it.

After a sojourn of only seven weeks at Otongwe, Dom Gonçalo da Silveira returned to Inhambane, leaving behind him the other members of the mission and what he believed to be an infant Christian community. The little vessel had taken in the cargo obtained in barter, and the Portuguese traders, who were ready to go on board, were waiting for him. The missionary embarked with them, the sails were set, and he proceeded to Mozambique to prepare for a visit to the monomotapa.

Having made his arrangements with the assistance of the captain Pantaleão de Sá, on the 18th of September 1560 he left the island again with the Kalanga country as his destination. He was accompanied by six Portuguese, one of whom, Antonio Dias by name, was a competent interpreter. The zambuco in which he was a passenger touched at the mouth of the Kilimane, and then proceeded to the Kuama, up which she made her way to Sena. From ten to fifteen Portuguese and a few Indian Christians were found at this place, living in the most dissolute manner. There was no resident clergyman, so during the two months that he remained here waiting for a reply to a message that he sent to the monomotapa, he pursued his calling and induced some of his countrymen to amend their habits, besides which he baptized about five hundred Bantu, mostly servants and slaves of the Europeans. At Sena he was joined by a Portuguese resident of Tete, named Gomes Coelho, who was living on terms of friendship with the paramount Kalanga chief, and who was conversant with his language.

At length a reply was received from the monomotapa, inviting the missionary to visit him, so he and his attendants set out over land for Tete, sending their luggage and other

goods up the river in boats. At Tete a stay was made only sufficiently long to engage more carriers, and the party then proceeded onward, forming quite a little caravan. Gomes Coelho remained at the river to attend to any forwarding business that was to be done, as he had ascertained that his presence with Dom Gonçalo would not be needed. The road was long, and food became so scarce that they were glad to get any kind of edible wild plants, but on the 26th of December they reached their destination in safety.

At the kraal of the great chief there was living at this time a Portuguese adventurer named Antonio Caiado, one of a class of men met with then as now, who, while retaining affection for the country of their birth, can make themselves perfectly at home among barbarians. Caiado had ingratiated himself with the monomotapa, and was a counsellor of rank and principal military authority in the tribe. He was deputed by the chief to wait upon the strangers, to bid them welcome as messengers from the viceroy of India, and to offer their leader a present of gold dust, cattle, and female slaves, as a token of friendship. The missionary declined the present, but in such a way as not to give offence, and shortly afterwards the great chief admitted him to an interview. He was received with all possible honour as an ambassador from the viceroy, who, from accounts of previous Portuguese visitors to the great place, was believed to be a potentate of enormous wealth and power. The message of friendship and the present which he brought gave great satisfaction. Food and huts for himself and his retinue were offered and accepted with thanks, but the African chief was surprised when the missionary, so unlike all other white men he had met, courteously declined to accept the gold and female companions pressed upon him.

The same mistake was made here as at Gamba's kraal, the missionary addressed the chief and his assembled people through an interpreter, they professed to believe what he said, and allowed themselves to be baptized. This took place within a month from the date of his arrival. The

monomotapa was a mere youth, and one of his half brothers, Tshepute by name, was in revolt against him. The insurgent had taken the title of Kiteve, and was in possession of a broad tract of territory along the coast from Sofala to the Tendankulu river, in which he was quite independent. Under these circumstances it was evidently the interest of the monomotapa and his adherents to do nothing to offend any one who offered him friendship, especially one who represented a powerful, though distant ruler. Looking at the matter in this light, there is nothing strange in what occurred. The monomotapa received at his baptism the name Sebastião, and his mother at hers Maria. Some three hundred of his counsellors, attendants, and followers were baptized with him.

The chief evidently thought his visitors would not make a long stay, and he was very willing to entertain them for a few weeks and please them to the best of his ability, but shortly after his baptism he began to get weary of their presence. He had no intention whatever of abandoning any of the customs of his race, and was irritated when the missionary urged him to do so. Some Mohamedan refugees from Mozambique, who were staying with him, took advantage of his growing coldness to persuade him that Silveira was a mighty sorcerer. They reminded him of the loss of the presents which the officials of Sofala had made to his predecessors, and that Dom Gonçalo had been in Tshepute's country, from which they inferred that he had left people behind him there and had come in advance as a spy to ascertain the condition of the land and bewitch the people in it. In the end they so worked upon his credulity and his fear that he resolved if the missionary would not leave to put him to death, with which resolution Dom Gonçalo was made acquainted. He, however, declined to remove, and took no other precautions than to give some articles that he regarded as sacred to Caiado, with an injunction to preserve them from injury. In the belief that he was making converts he was willing to face death,

and presently he baptized fifty individuals who expressed a desire to become Christians, probably for the sake of the beads and pieces of calico that he distributed among them. This was regarded by the monomotapa as a defiance of his authority, and in his wrath he issued orders to a party of men, who strangled the missionary during the night of the 16th of March 1561 and cast his dead body into the river Monsengense. The newly baptized narrowly escaped the same fate.

A drought of some duration occurred not long afterwards, and was followed by a great plague of locusts. Caiado and other Portuguese now persuaded the chief that these evils were consequences of the murder of Silveira, so he caused the principal Mohamedans who had poisoned his mind towards the missionary to be put to death.

Father André Fernandes and the lay brother André da Costa had been left by Dom Gonçalo at Gamba's kraal Otongwe. Whether the lay brother died or left the country is unknown: in numerous letters written by Father Fernandes at a little later date neither he nor João Raposo is mentioned, and the father refers to himself as being quite alone. It was truly a wretched condition for a European to be in, especially as it soon became evident that the supposed converts were altogether indisposed to lay aside their old customs or to submit to ecclesiastical discipline. They would not abandon polygamy, or the belief in charms, or the practice of divination, or punishment of persons charged with dealing in witchcraft, and were greatly offended with the preaching of the missionary against their habits. They had a custom also—which still exists—that when a man died his brothers should take his widows and raise up a family for him, and this the missionary denounced to their great annoyance. At length matters reached a climax. There was a drought in the country, and the chief Gamba, who was also the rainmaker of his clan, went through the ordinary ceremonies to obtain a downpour. For doing this Father Fernandes openly and

fearlessly rebuked him before his people, with the result that whatever influence he had before was now at an end. He had nothing left to buy food with, and at times was nearly starved. Neglected, often fever-stricken, regarded as a wizard to be avoided, after a residence of over two years at Otongwe he received instructions from his provincial to return to Goa, and so he left a country in which under the circumstances then existing he must have perished had he remained longer, without a chance of doing any good. Making his way as best he could to Inhambane, he proceeded to Mozambique in the trading vessel, and there embarked in a ship which conveyed him in an extremely debilitated condition to the convent of his order in Goa.

Thus ended the first mission to the Bantu of South Africa. It is possible that some traces of the doctrine of the teachers may have remained, for instance a belief in the existence of the devil; but as far as the introduction of Christian morals is concerned the mission had no result whatever. Without something beyond natural agency it could not have been otherwise among people such as the Makalanga at that time, whose race instinct was exceedingly strong, and whose political and social system was based upon ideas utterly antagonistic to those of Europeans.

Note.—Though the word Makalanga or Makaranga is now always taken to mean the people of the sun, that cannot have been its early signification. The sun is called ilanga in many of the coast dialects, but not in Tshikalanga, in which the words used are izhuba and izwari. If ilanga had been used in ancient times the preposition ka would not have been inserted. The chief under whom the tribe was first formed may have been named Karanga, or the ancient siboko, before the migration of the tribe from the north, may have been the honey bird, the karanga of these people at the present day, or possibly the ground nut, which is called karanga by some of the northern clans. There is a small tribe called the Wakaranga living on the eastern shore of Lake Tanganyika, but whether it was once closely connected with the Makaranga of the south I am unable to ascertain.

CHAPTER XIII.

DISASTROUS EXPEDITIONS UNDER BARRETO AND HOMEM.

DONA CATHARINA acted as regent of Portugal until 1562, when she retired and the cardinal Dom Henrique, younger brother of King João III, took her place. While he was head of the government nothing worthy of mention occurred in South-Eastern Africa. It was his intention to station at Mozambique an ecclesiastical administrator, with authority almost equal to that of a bishop, and a bull was obtained from the pope for the purpose. The archbishop of Goa gave his consent to the separation from his diocese of the territory from the Cape of Good Hope to Melinde. The licentiate Manuel Coutinho, one of the royal chaplains, received the appointment, with a salary of about £80 a year from the 1st of April 1563. But something occurred to prevent the plan being carried into execution, and it was not revived until half a century later.

In 1568 Dom Sebastião, though only in his fifteenth year, was declared to be of age, and was crowned king of Portugal, then an absolute monarchy. His was a strange character: gloomy, but adventurous to the last degree, deeply religious according to the standard of his time, but wilful and vain, brave as any warrior who ever held lance in hand, but rash as the most imprudent of those crusaders whom in many respects he greatly resembled. He had hardly assumed the reins of government when he resolved to create a vast dominion in Africa south of the Zambesi, a dominion which in wealth and importance would rival that of Castile in the countries subjected to that crown by the daring of Cortes and Pizarro.

Ever since the establishment of the trading station at Sofala a quantity of gold had been obtained yearly in commerce, but that quantity was so small as to be disappointing. Compared with the wealth which flowed into Spain from Mexico and Peru it was almost as nothing. Yet the belief was general in Portugal that the mines of South Africa were as rich as those of America, and that if possession of them was taken, boundless wealth would be obtained.

Were not these the mines from which the queen of Sheba got the gold which she presented to King Solomon? said the Portuguese enthusiasts. Was not Masapa the ancient Ophir? Why even then Kalanga Kaffirs called the mountain close to the residence of their great chief Fura, and the Arabs called it Aufur, what was that but a corruption of Ophir? There, at Abasia, close to Masapa and to the mountain Fura, was a mine so rich that there were seldom years in which nuggets worth four thousand cruzados (£1904 13*s.* 4*d.*)* were not taken from it. Then there were the mines of Manika and far distant Butua, worked only by Bantu, who neither knew how to dig nor had the necessary tools. Only by washing river sand and soil in pools after heavy rains, these barbarians obtained all the gold that was purchased at Sofala and the smaller stations: what would not be got if civilised Europeans owned the territory? For it was to be borne in mind that the Bantu were extremely indolent, that when any one of them obtained sufficient gold to supply his immediate wants, he troubled himself about washing the soil no longer.

All this and more of the same nature was exciting the minds of the people of Portugal, and was reflected in the glowing pages of their writers. It was therefore a highly popular enterprise that the boy king was about to embark

* The weight of the cruzado of King Sebastião is given to me by the curator of the coin department of the British Museum as 58·7 grains Troy, and its purity as practically the same as that of English gold. I have therefore estimated it at 114·28*d.*

upon, one in which he could employ the best men and much of the wealth of the country without a murmur from any one. Before the necessary preparations were made, however, the pious sovereign submitted to a board termed the table of conscience the question whether aggressive warfare against the ruler of the coveted territory would be lawful and just. The reply must have been foreseen, but it would relieve the monarch of personal moral responsibility in the eyes of Christendom, probably even in his own, if his learned advisers favoured his views.

The board of conscience consisted of seven individuals, who took the circumstances of the case into consideration, and on the 23rd of January 1569 pronounced their opinion. They declared that as the monomotapa and his predecessors had been guilty of killing and robbing their own innocent subjects as well as several Portuguese traders, that one of them had ordered the father Dom Gonçalo da Silveira, a peaceful missionary, to be murdered, that by them two Portuguese ambassadors from the captain of Sofala had been robbed and detained as prisoners, that they sheltered in their dominions many Moors, the enemies of the Christian faith and instigators of evil, and that apostolic bulls were in existence conceding to the king all the commerce of the country from Cape Nun to India upon condition of his causing the gospel to be preached there, it would be right and proper to demand in moderate terms that the African ruler should receive and protect Christian missionaries, expel the Moors, cease tyrannical conduct towards his subjects, carry on commerce in a friendly manner, and make sufficient compensation for all damage done and expenses incurred; and upon his failing to do so war might justly be made upon him. It would certainly be difficult to find better reasons for hostilities than those here given, if the true object had not been something very different.

The next step was the division of India into three governments. Complaints were unceasing that in places distant from Goa it was almost impossible to carry on business

properly, owing to the length of time required to obtain orders and instructions, and it was evident that war on an extensive scale could not be conducted successfully in Eastern Africa if the general in command should be in any way hampered. The whole sphere of Portuguese influence in the East was therefore separated into three sections: the first extending from Cape Correntes to Cape Guardafui, the second from Cape Guardafui to Pegu, and the third from Pegu to China. As head of the first and commander in chief of the expedition about to be sent out the king's choice fell upon Francisco Barreto, an officer of experience in war, who had been governor-general of India from 1555 to 1558, and who was then in chief command of the royal galleys. The appointment was a popular one, for Barreto had the reputation of being not only brave and skilful, but the most generous cavalier of his day. He was instructed to enrol a thousand soldiers and was supplied with a hundred thousand cruzados (£47,616 13*s.* 4*d.*) in ready money, with a promise of an equal sum in gold and a reinforcement of five hundred men every year until the conquest should be completed. All Lisbon was in a state of excitement when this became known, and so great was the enthusiasm with which the project was regarded that from every side cadets of the best families pressed forward and offered their services. The recruiting offices were so crowded that only the very best men were selected, and those who were rejected would have sufficed for another expedition.

Three ships were engaged to take the troops to Mozambique. One of these—the *Rainha*—was a famous Indiaman, and the largest in the king's service. In addition to the crew, six hundred soldiers, of whom more than half were of gentle blood and two hundred were court attendants, embarked with Barreto in this ship. In each of the others two hundred soldiers embarked. One was commanded by Vasco Fernandes Homem, the other by Lourenço Carvalho. The viceroy at Goa was instructed to forward supplies of provisions and military stores to Mozambique, and to procure horses, asses,

and camels at Ormuz for the use of the expedition. A hundred negroes were sent out to take care of the animals when they arrived. As chaplains of the expedition four fathers of the Company of Jesus were selected, one of whom—Francisco Monclaros by name—wrote an account of it which is still in existence.

On the 16th of April 1569 the expedition, that was supposed to have a brilliant career before it, sailed from Belem amidst the roar of artillery and a great sound of trumpets. Almost immediately the first trouble was encountered, in the form of a gale which caused so much damage to the ship commanded by Lourenço Carvalho that she was obliged to return to Lisbon, where she was condemned. The other two took seventy-seven days to reach the equator, and then separated, Vasco Fernandes Homem proceeding to Mozambique, where he arrived in August, and the captain general steering for the bay of All Saints on the coast of Brazil to procure water and refreshments. The *Rainha* dropped anchor in this bay on the 4th of August, and remained until the end of January 1570, waiting for the favourable monsoon. During this time sixty of the soldiers died, but as many others were obtained in their stead.

At the bay of All Saints Francisco Barreto received information of a destructive plague that had broken out in Lisbon, and that his wife, Dona Beatriz d'Ataide, had died of it only two days after his departure. Having sailed again, the Cape of Good Hope was passed in safety, but on the banks of Agulhas a storm was encountered which drove the ship so far back that she was thirty-six days in recovering her position. In consequence of this, Mozambique was not reached until the 6th of May 1570, where Vasco Fernandes Homem was found with his men all ill and having lost many by death, among them his own son Antonio Mascarenhas. None of the requisite supplies or animals had yet arrived from India. Pedro Barreto, a nephew of the commander

in chief, had been captain of Sofala and Mozambique, but upon hearing of the new arrangement in a fit of jealousy had thrown up his appointment and embarked in a ship returning to Europe. This is the man whose shabby treatment of Luis de Camões has blackened his name for ever in Portuguese history. He died on the passage to Lisbon. His affairs in Africa were wound up by his agent, from whom Vasco Fernandes Homem, who assumed the government, demanded the proceeds of his property, amounting to about thirty-three thousand pounds sterling. This money was transferred to Francisco Barreto upon his arrival, who made use of it in defraying some of the expenses of the expedition.

The town of Mozambique at this time contained about a hundred Portuguese residents and two hundred Indians and Kaffirs. The Mohamedan village on the island was in a ruinous condition. The construction of Fort São Sebastião was progressing, and some heavy artillery brought out in the *Rainha* was landed to be mounted on its walls.

Francisco Barreto appointed Lourenço Godinho captain of Mozambique provisionally, and in October sent Vasco Fernandes Homem with three hundred soldiers to the ports along the coast to the northward to obtain provisions and then take possession of the Comoro islands. A few weeks later he followed himself in pangayos with the remainder of his force who were in health, and overtook Homem at Kilwa, which was then a place of very little importance. From Kilwa he proceeded to Mafia, and after a stay there of two or three days, to Zanzibar. At this island some Kaffirs who were in insurrection were reduced to order. After this Barreto visited Mombasa, Melinde, Cambo, and Pate. At the place last named the inhabitants were more hostile to the Portuguese than at any other settlement on the coast, and on that account it was intended to destroy the town; but it was found almost deserted, and the few people left in it begged for mercy and were spared on paying five thousand seven hundred

and fourteen pounds sterling, partly in gold and partly in cloth and provisions. They avenged themselves after the expedition sailed, however, by robbing and murdering several Portuguese traders. As many of the soldiers had died along the coast and others were very ill, Barreto here abandoned his design against the Comoro islands, and from Pate returned to Mozambique with the tribute money and provisions he had obtained.

Upon his arrival at the island he found a small vessel under command of Manuel de Mesquita Perestrello, that had been sent from Portugal to his assistance. The *Rainha* was lying a wreck on the coast of the mainland, having been driven from her anchors in a hurricane, but her cargo had previously been taken on shore. Two ships which the viceroy Dom Luis d'Ataide had sent from India with munitions of war, stores of different kinds, horses, and other animals for the use of the expedition, had just made their appearance. With these, however, Barreto received information that a powerful hostile force was besieging Chaul, so he called a council of his officers and put the question to them whether it would not be more advantageous to the king's service to defer the African conquest for a time, and proceed to the relief of that place. The council was of opinion that they should first force the enemy to raise the siege of Chaul, and then return and take possession of the gold mines, so preparations for that purpose were at once commenced.

Before Barreto could sail for Chaul, Dom Antonio de Noronha, the newly appointed viceroy of India from Cape Guardafui to Pegu, arrived at Mozambique with a fleet of five ships having on board two hundred soldiers to reinforce the African expedition. His appearance put a different aspect upon affairs. He was very ill when he reached the island, but after a few days he recovered sufficiently to be present at a general council, which was attended by a large number of officers of high rank and more than twenty fathers of the Company of Jesus and the order of Saint Dominic, when it

was unanimously resolved that the African expedition should at once be proceeded with. With one exception, the members of the council were of opinion that Sofala should be made the base of operations, the father Francisco Monclaros alone holding that the route should be up the Zambesi to a certain point, and then straight to the mountain where the paramount chief of the Kalanga tribe resided, in order to punish that despot for the murder of the missionary Dom Gonçalo da Silveira.

Barreto accepted the decision of the majority of the council, and commenced to send his stores to Sofala in small vessels, but after a time his mind misgave him. He had been specially commanded by the king on all occasions of importance to follow the advice of Father Monclaros, who was in high favour at court. After another consultation with him, the captain general suddenly recalled the pangayos from Sofala, and in November 1571 left Mozambique for Sena with twenty-two vessels of different sizes conveying his army and stores. Two years and seven months had passed away since he sailed from Lisbon, many of the men who had embarked there in high hope of glory and wealth were no more, and most of those who remained alive were enfeebled by the long sojourn on that unhealthy coast. It is creditable to them that at last, when the time of action appeared to have arrived, they were still found eager to press forward.

On the way down the coast the flotilla put into several ports before reaching the Kilimane, where Barreto procured a number of luzios or large boats; but finding that mouth of the Zambesi not then navigable into the main stream, he proceeded to the Luabo. At Kilimane only two or three Portuguese were residing. The Bantu chief, whose name was Mongalo, had a distinct remembrance of Vasco da Gama's visit seventy-five years before.

Sixteen days were required to ascend the river from the bar of the Luabo to Sena. Sometimes the sails were set, at other times the vessels were towed by boats, and where the current was very strong warping was resorted to. Barreto

resolved to make Sena his base of proceedings. Ten Portuguese traders were living there in wattled huts, but there was no fort or substantial building of any kind. The troops were landed, and were found to number over seven hundred arquebusiers, exclusive of officers, slaves, and camp attendants of every description. Their supply of provisions was ample. They had horses to draw the artillery and mount a respectable company, a number of asses to carry skin water-bags, and some camels for heavy transport. As far as war material was concerned, the expedition was as well equipped as it could be. But this first campaign of Europeans against Bantu in Southern Africa was opened under exceptional difficulties, for the locality was the sickly Zambesi valley, and the time was the hottest of the year.

Agents were at once sent out to purchase oxen, and the work of building a fort was commenced without delay. Stone for the purpose was drawn to the site selected by cattle trained to the yoke, the first ever so employed in South Africa, which caused great astonishment to the Bantu spectators. The beginning of trouble was occasioned by thirst. The river, owing to heavy falls of rain along its upper course, was so muddy and dirty that its water could not be used without letting it settle, and the only vessels available for this purpose were a few calabashes. Then sickness broke out, and men, horses, and oxen began to die, owing, as the captain general supposed, to the impurities which they drank. Father Monclaros, however, was of a different opinion. He believed that the Mohamedans who resided at Sena were poisoning the grass to cause the animals to perish, and were even practising the same malevolence towards the men, when opportunities occurred, by putting some deadly substance secretly in the food. He urged Barreto to expel them, who declined to do so, and to ascertain whether purer water could not be obtained, caused a well to be dug. The excavation was made, and stone was being brought to build a wall round it, when one Manhoesa, a man of mixed Arab and Bantu blood, went to

Barreto privately and told him that there was a plot to put poison in it.

The Mohamedan residents of the place were traders who purchased goods from Portuguese and paid for them in gold and ivory. Some of them owned many slaves, whom they employed as carriers in their bartering expeditions and agents in pushing their traffic far into the interior. They were governed by their own sheik, and were quite independent of other control. Most of them could speak the Portuguese language sufficiently well to be understood, and after the expedition arrived professed to entertain friendship for the members of it, though at heart it was impossible for the two races at that time to be really well disposed towards each other. Apart from the wide gulf which religion caused, the Christians had come to destroy the commerce with the Bantu by which these mongrel Arabs lived, how could there then be friendship between them?

Barreto believed Manhoesa's statement, and caused the well to be filled up. The horses were now dying off at an alarming rate,—just as would happen to-day, for in that locality they cannot long exist, — and upon the bodies being opened, the appearance of the lungs convinced the Portuguese that they had been poisoned. The grooms were arrested, and as they protested that they were innocent, the captain general commanded them to be put to the torture. Under this ordeal some of them declared that they had been bribed by a Moorish priest to kill the horses, and that he had supplied them with poison for the purpose.

Upon this evidence Barreto ordered his soldiers to attack the Mohamedans suddenly and put them to the sword. The country around was thereupon scoured to a considerable distance, and all the adult males were killed except seventeen, who were brought to the camp as prisoners. Their property of every kind was seized, most of which was divided among the soldiers as booty, though gold to the value of over £6700 was reserved for the service of the

king. The prisoners were tried, and were sentenced to death. They were exhorted to embrace Christianity, in order to save their souls, but all rejected the proposal except one, who was baptized with the name Lourenço, and was accompanied to the scaffold by a priest carrying a crucifix. This one was hanged, some were impaled, some were blown from the mouths of mortars, and the others were put to death in various ways with exquisite torture. Of the whole adult male Mohamedan population of Sena and its neighbourhood only Manhoesa was left alive. Such dreadful barbarity inflicted upon people innocent of the crime with which they were charged was regarded by Father Monclaros as a simple act of justice, and he recorded the horrible event without the slightest recognition of the infamy attached to it.

Shortly after he reached Sena Barreto sent Miguel Bernardes, an old resident in the country, to the monomotapa; but he was drowned on the way by the overturning of his canoe in the river. Another was then despatched on the same errand. A messenger went in advance to ascertain whether he would be received in a manner becoming the representative of the king of Portugal, because in that capacity he would not be at liberty to lay aside his arms, to prostrate himself upon the ground, and to kneel when addressing the chief, as was the ordinary custom when blacks or strangers presented themselves. Some Mohamedans were at the great place when the messenger arrived, and they tried to induce the monomotapa not to see the envoy except in the usual manner. They informed him that the Portuguese were powerful sorcerers, who, if permitted to have their own way, might bewitch and even kill him by their glances and their words. The chief was alarmed by their statements and therefore hesitated for some days, but in the end he promised that the envoy on his arrival might present himself in the Portuguese manner, and would be received with friendship.

Barreto's agent then proceeded to the monomotapa's kraal. He had several attendants with him, and before him went servants carrying a chair and a carpet. The carpet was spread on the ground in front of the place where the monomotapa was reclining with his counsellors and great men half surrounding him, the chair was placed upon it, and the Portuguese official, richly dressed and armed, took his seat on it, his attendants, also armed, standing on each side and at his back. The European subordinate and the greatest of all the South African chiefs were there in conference, and the European, by virtue of his blood, assumed and was conceded the higher position of the two.

After some complimentary remarks from each, the envoy, through his interpreter, introduced the subject of his mission, which he said was to obtain the grant of a right of way to the gold mines of Manika and Butua, and to form an alliance against the chief Mongasi—(variously written by the Portuguese Omigos, Mongas, and Monge),—the hereditary enemy of the Makalanga. The real object of Barreto's expedition, the seizure of the gold mines in the Kalanga country itself, was kept concealed. The monomotapa, as a matter of course, was charmed with the proposal of assistance against his enemy. The tribe of which Mongasi was the head occupied the right bank of the Zambesi at and above the Lupata gorge, and during several preceding years had committed great ravages upon its neighbours. Its territory was small compared with that over which the Kalanga clans were spread, but its men were brave and fond of war, and to the Portuguese it was not certain which of the two was really the more powerful, Mongasi or the monomotapa himself. The condition of things indeed was somewhat similar to that in the same country three centuries later, except that Mongasi and his fighting men were in power far below Lobengula and the Matabele bands. The chief had given the Portuguese cause for enmity by robbing and killing several traders, and on one occasion sending a party to Tete who,

finding no white men there at the time, murdered about seventy of their female slaves and children.

The monomotapa was so pleased that he readily agreed to everything that the envoy proposed. He offered to send a great army to assist against Mongasi, and he said that a way through his territory to the mines beyond would be open to the Portuguese at all times. This was very satisfactory from Barreto's point of view, though he did not avail himself of the offer of assistance, as he wished to avoid any complications that might arise from it.

After a detention of seven months at Sena, the return of the envoy enabled the captain general to proceed towards his destination. The fort which he had nearly completed, named São Marçal, gave the Portuguese at least one strong position on the great river, though the country about it was not subdued, and the Bantu were left in absolute independence there. He had lost by fever at that unhealthy place a great many of those who had accompanied him from Portugal with such high hope, among them his own son Ruy Nunes Barreto, and of the men who were left some were barely able to walk. At the end of July 1572 he set out. A flotilla of boats containing provisions and stores of all kinds ascended the river, and along the bank marched the army accompanied by twenty-five waggons drawn by oxen, and the camels, asses, and a few horses that had recently arrived from India. The troops, about six hundred and fifty in number, including eighty Indians and mixed breeds, were divided into five companies, commanded respectively by Barreto himself, Antonio de Mello, Thomé de Sousa, Jeronymo d'Aguiar, and Jeronymo d'Andrada. Vasco Fernandes Homem, who had the rank of colonel, filled an office corresponding to that of quarter master general. Over two thousand slaves and camp attendants were with the army.

A whole month was occupied in marching from Sena to the confluence of the Mazoe and the Zambesi above the Lupata gorge. Frequently a soldier became too ill to walk, and he was then placed on a waggon until nightfall, when the

camp was pitched on the margin of the river and he was transferred to one of the boats. The expedition was now to ascend the Mazoe to Mongasi's great place, so near its mouth Barreto formed a camp on a small island, and left there his sick with the boats and all the superfluous baggage and stores, for there was no possibility of proceeding with a heavily encumbered column. An officer named Ruy de Mello, who had been wounded by a buffalo, was placed in charge of this camp. On the northern, or Bororo side of the Zambesi, there was a tribe of considerable strength living under a chief named Tshombe, who was an enemy of Mongasi and therefore as soon as he ascertained the object of the expedition professed to be a friend of the Portuguese. He supplied two hundred men to assist in carrying the baggage and to act as guides.

With his force now reduced to five hundred and sixty arquebusiers, twenty-three horsemen, and a few gunners with five or six pieces of artillery, Barreto turned away almost due south from the Zambesi. In this direction the column marched ten days, the men and animals suffering greatly at times from want of water. How the slaves and camp attendants fared is not mentioned by either De Couto or Father Monclaros, but the soldiers lived chiefly on scanty rations of beef, which they grilled on embers or by holding it on rods before a fire, though often they were so exhausted with the heat and fatigue that they were unable to eat anything at all. Their spirits revived, however, when on the eleventh day they came in sight of Mongasi's army, which was so large that the hillsides and valleys looked black with men.

Barreto immediately arranged his soldiers in a strong position resting on a hill, and awaited an attack, but none was made that day. All night the troops were under arms, getting what sleep they could without moving from their places, but that was little, for the blacks at no great distance were shouting continuously and making a great noise with their war-drums. At dawn the sergeant-major, Pedro de

Castro, was sent out with eighty picked men to try and draw the enemy on. This manœuvre succeeded. The whole host rushed forward in a dense mass, led by an old female witch-finder with a calabash full of charms, which she threw into the air in the belief that they would cause the Portuguese to become blind and palsied. So implicitly did the warriors of Mongasi rely upon these charms, that they carried riems to bind the Europeans who should not be killed. Barreto ordered one of his best shots to try to pick the old sorceress off, and she fell dead under his fire. The warriors, who believed that she was immortal, were checked for an instant, but presently brandishing their weapons with great shouts, they came charging on.

Then, with a cry of São Thiago from the Portuguese, a storm of balls from cannons and arquebuses and unwieldy firelocks was poured into the dense mass, which was shattered and broken. Barreto now in his turn charged, when the enemy took to flight, but in the pursuit several Portuguese were wounded with arrows. Fearing that his men might get scattered, the general caused the recall to be sounded almost at once, so that within a few minutes from its commencement the action was over.

The horsemen were then sent out to inspect the country in front. They returned presently with intelligence that there was a large kraal close by, belonging to Kapote, one of Mongasi's sub-chiefs, so the general resolved to set it on fire as soon as the men were a little rested and had broken their fast. About ten o'clock the expedition reached the kraal, which was nearly surrounded by patches of forest, and it was burned, but immediately afterwards the warriors were seen approaching. There was just time to form a kind of breastwork at the sides of the field guns with stakes and bushes when Mongasi's army, arranged in the form of a crescent with its horns extended to surround the position, was upon the invading band. It was received as before with a heavy fire, which was kept back until the leading rank was within a few paces, and which struck down the

files far towards the rear. The smoke which rolled over the Europeans and hid them from sight was regarded by the Bantu with superstitious fear, it seemed to them as if their opponents were under supernatural protection, and so they fled once more. They were followed some distance, and a great many were killed, among whom was the chief Kapote, but the Portuguese also suffered severely in the pursuit, for when Barreto's force came together again it was found that more than sixty men were wounded, some indeed only slightly but not a few mortally, and two were dead. Of the enemy it was believed that over six thousand had perished since dawn that morning, though very probably this estimate was much in excess of the actual number.

The progress of the expedition was now delayed by the necessity of establishing a hospital. Fortunately the site of the captured kraal was a good one, and water was plentiful close by. But at daylight on the sixth day after their arrival Mongasi's bands attacked them again. On this occasion the Europeans were protected with palisades, which the Bantu were unable to pass, though they continued their efforts to force an entrance until an hour after noon. Their losses under these circumstances must have been very heavy, and they were so disheartened that they accepted their defeat as decisive and sent a messenger to beg for peace.

Barreto's position at this time was one of great difficulty. He was encumbered with sick and wounded men, the objective point of his expedition was far away, his supply of ammunition was small, and his slaughter cattle were reduced to a very limited number. Yet he spoke to Mongasi's messenger in a haughty tone, and replied that he would think over the matter: the chief might send again after a couple of days, and he would then decide. A present of fifty head of cattle and as many sheep, a little gold, and a couple of tusks of ivory, was sent to him, and he gave in return some iron hoes, but no terms of peace were arranged. The animals were of the greatest service, so small was his stock of food.

In less than a week from this time a council of war was held, when there was but one opinion, that the only hope of safety was in retreating without delay. The expedition therefore turned back towards the Zambesi, and so great were the sufferings of the men for want of food on the way that they searched for roots and wild plants to keep them alive. At length, at the end of September, the bank of the river was reached, and a canoe was obtained, with which a letter was sent to Ruy de Mello, who was in command of the camp on the island. That officer immediately despatched six boat loads of millet and other provisions, and thus the exhausted soldiers and camp attendants were saved. They had not penetrated the country farther than seventy-two kilometres in a straight line from the river.

There were more than two hundred men either wounded or too ill to be of any service, and the losses by death had been large, so Barreto resolved to return to Sena, where a reinforcement of eighty soldiers who had recently arrived was awaiting him. The sick were sent down the river in boats after the remainder of the expedition had crossed to the Bororo side with the animals and baggage, and the waggons, now useless, had been burned. On the march provisions were obtained from the subjects of Tshombe, and two kraals hostile to that chief were destroyed.

A few days after crossing the river Barreto received information that his presence was urgently needed at Mozambique. When he sailed from that island he left there as captain a man eighty years of age, named Antonio Pereira Brandão, and assigned to Lourenço Godinho the office of factor. Brandão was under the deepest obligation to him. In the Moluccas he had committed crimes for which he was tried and condemned to confiscation of all his property and banishment to Africa for life. He threw himself upon the compassion of Barreto, who obtained permission from the king to take him with the expedition,

and made him captain of Mozambique purposely that he might acquire some property to bestow upon his daughter. In return he acted with such treachery towards his benefactor that he planned the detention of supplies forwarded from Goa, in order to ruin him.

Upon learning this Barreto left Vasco Fernandes Homem in command of the retreating force, and proceeded down the river in a luzio. At Sena he found an embassy from the monomotapa, who brought a message expressing good will and desiring friendship with the king of Portugal and commerce with the white people. The captain general mentioned three conditions as requisite to a compact between them: first that the Mohamedans should be expelled from the country, secondly that Christian missionaries should be received, and thirdly that a number of gold mines should be ceded. He added that if these conditions were agreed to, upon his return from Mozambique he would deal with other obstacles in the way of friendly commerce as he had dealt with Mongasi. The principal man in the embassy replied that the conditions were acceptable, and it was then arranged that some Portuguese should return with the party to learn from the monomotapa himself whether he would agree to them.

For this purpose Barreto appointed three gentlemen named Francisco de Magalhães, Francisco Rafaxo, and Gaspar Borges, whom he sent in company with the Kalanga embassy on its return home with a valuable present of cloth and other articles to the monomotapa. It was afterwards learned that Francisco de Magalhães died on the journey, and that the two others were very well received. The monomotapa, as was natural under the circumstances, was profuse in friendly sentiments. He promised to expel the Mohamedans from his country, to receive Christian missionaries with friendship, and to give some gold mines to the Portuguese to work; but probably he had no intention of literally carrying out the first and the last of these concessions. He sent back

a present of gold, though it was of trifling value compared with what he had received.

As soon as the remnant of the army reached Sena the captain general instructed Vasco Fernandes Homem to complete the construction of Fort São Marçal and the necessary buildings connected with it, and then with Father Monclaros and a few attendants he proceeded to the mouth of the Luabo and embarked in a pangayo for Mozambique. Shortly after his arrival at that island a ship arrived from India with stores for the expedition, and in her came João da Silva, a natural son of Barreto, who delivered to his father a number of defamatory letters which Antonio Pereira Brandão had written concerning him to the king, and which Dom Jorge de Menezes, his relative by marriage, had intercepted. With this new proof of Brandão's treachery in his possession the captain general dismissed him from office, but was too generous to punish him further. Lourenço Godinho was appointed captain of Mozambique in his stead.

With his son, all the recruits he could obtain, a good supply of ammunition and other material of war, and a large quantity of calico with which to purchase provisions and meet other expenses, on the 3rd of March 1573 Francisco Barreto sailed again from Mozambique with a fleet of pangayos, intending to invade Manika from Sena. But misfortune still pursued him. Contrary winds were encountered, which compelled him to put into several ports, and two of the pangayos, laden with ammunition and provisions, were lost. At Kilimane intelligence was received of fearful mortality among the troops at Sena. The captains Jeronymo d'Aguiar and Antonio de Mello with all the inferior officers of the several companies and most of the soldiers had died, and Vasco Fernandes Homem and the Jesuit fathers were very ill. All hope of being able to invade Manika was thus lost, but Barreto felt that it would be disgraceful to abandon his people in such a time of distress, and so he pressed forward. On the 1st of May

he left the mouth of the river, and on the 15th arrived at Sena.

At the landing place about fifty soldiers, all that were able to stand, were waiting to receive him with banners displayed, but there was not an officer with them until Vasco Fernandes Homem was brought down in a state of great debility. The captain general and the priest passed on to the hospital, where the sick tried to welcome them, but only one man was able to discharge an arquebus. The sole remaining physician was dying. It was a pitiful sight, this terrible end of an expedition entered upon with such enthusiasm and such unbounded hope of success.

Some of the sick improved in health owing to the medical comforts Barreto had brought with him, but the whole of the recruits just arrived were struck down almost at once. The captain general, eight days after he reached Sena, had an angry altercation with Father Monclaros, in which the priest reproached him for not having abandoned the enterprise long before and told him that God would bring him to account for all the lives lost. Immediately after this the unfortunate commander took to his bed, and after a brief period of exhaustion died in great distress of mind, though apparently free of fever. In India and in his native country he had been regarded as a man of high ability, but South Africa destroyed his reputation, like that of many others since. He was buried in the newly erected church within the fort São Marçal, but his remains and those of his son Ruy Nunes Barreto were subsequently removed to Portugal, where by order of the king a pompous state funeral was accorded to them. His natural son, João da Silva, was taken by his servants from Sena to Mozambique, prostrate with illness, and died there. He had been wealthy, but his father had borrowed all he possessed to pay the soldiers and defray the other expenses of the army, as he had done from many others, so that Francisco Barreto's executors found that he not only left no property, but that he was responsible for

a hundred and twenty thousand cruzados (£57,140) thus raised.

Upon opening the first of the sealed orders of succession which had been given by the king to the late captain general, the name of Pedro Barreto was found; but he had long been dead. The second order of succession was then opened, which contained the name of Vasco Fernandes Homem, who thereupon assumed the title of governor and captain general of the African coast from Cape Guardafui to Cape Correntes. Acting upon the advice of Father Monclaros, the new governor retired to Mozambique as speedily as possible, taking with him all the material of war and men except sufficient for a small garrison that he left in Fort São Marçal at Sena.

Shortly after he reached the island, an officer named Francisco Pinto Pimentel, who was his cousin, arrived there from India on his way home. This officer expressed the utmost astonishment at his having abandoned an enterprise which the king had resolved should be carried out, and for which reinforcements were even then being sent from Portugal. In his opinion it was gross dereliction of duty, and he reminded his relative that a high official had not long before lost his head for an act which might be regarded as similar. The advice of Father Monclaros, he said, would not serve as an excuse, because a priest could not be supposed to be a guide in military matters. The father had already embarked in a ship returning to Lisbon, so Pimentel's reasoning was not counteracted by his influence.

The captain general therefore resolved to resume the effort to get possession of the gold mines, and to make his base of operations the port that had been recommended by the council of officers and clergy in 1571. As many recruits as could be obtained from ships that called were added to the remnant of Barreto's force and the fresh soldiers just arrived from Europe, a flotilla of coasting vessels was collected, provisions were procured, and an army of some strength, well

provided with munitions of war, was conveyed to Sofala. The date of its arrival cannot be given, as no Portuguese chronicler or historian mentions it, and the original manuscript of Father Monclaros terminates with the death of Francisco Barreto. The Kiteve and Tshikanga tribes were found to be at variance with each other, a circumstance that was favourable to the captain general's views. As soon as his soldiers were on shore, who mustered five hundred in number, exclusive of attendants and camp followers, he sent presents to the Kiteve chief, and requested a free passage to the Tshikanga territory, but met with a refusal. The Bantu rulers always objected to intercourse between white people and the tribes beyond their own, because they feared to lose their toll on the commerce which passed through their territories, and they were also apprehensive of strangers forming an alliance with their enemies.

Homem made no scruple in marching forward without the chief's permission, and when the Kiteves attempted to oppose him with arms, a discharge of his artillery and arquebuses immediately scattered them. They had not the mettle of the gallant warriors of Mongasi. After several defeats the whole tribe fled into a rugged tract of country, taking their cattle with them, and leaving no grain that the invaders could find. Homem's line of march was from Sofala to the Busi river, and thence westward along that stream, his provisions and baggage being conveyed in canoes as far as there was sufficient water. This brought him to the principal kraal or great place of the Kiteve, which was found abandoned, and to which he set fire. The wattled huts, covered with thatch, were burned to the ground, so that the kraal was completely destroyed.

Two days later he reached the territory of the Tshikanga, which included a small tract of land on the seaward side of the great range that bounds the interior plain. There, at or near Masikesi, messengers from the Tshikanga met him, with professions of friendship and a present of cattle and millet from their chief, who was greatly pleased with the reverses

that his enemy had sustained. Homem sent him assurances of good will and a valuable present in return.

A description of the country is not given in the Portuguese accounts of the expedition, but it can only have been along the gorge through which the Revue river descends to the coastlands that Homem and his band went up to Manika. Somewhere near the village of Umtali of our times the Tshikanga then resided, and when the Portuguese force drew near he went out to meet it and give it a welcome. A camp was formed at his kraal, where provisions in abundance were supplied, and the intercourse between his people and the white men was most friendly as long as the expedition remained there.

After a short rest Homem and some of his principal men visited the nearest mines, but were greatly disappointed. They had expected to find the precious metal in such abundance that they could take away loads of it, instead of which a number of naked blacks carrying baskets of earth from a deep cavity were seen, with some others washing the earth in wooden troughs and after long and patient toil extracting a few grains of gold. They at once concluded that it could be of no advantage for them to hold the country. An agreement was therefore made with the Tshikanga that he should do everything in his power to facilitate commerce with his people, and for that purpose should allow Portuguese traders or their agents to enter his country at any time, in return for which the captain of the fort of Sofala was to make him a yearly present of two hundred rolls of cotton cloth.

The expedition went no farther in the Manika country, the point reached being the place now known as Umtali, or somewhere near it. As soon as his people were refreshed, Homem set out again for the coast, without attempting to penetrate to the territory of the monomotapa. On the way messengers from the Kiteve met him, and begged for peace, so an agreement was made with them similar in terms to the one concluded with the owner of Manika.

It was at this time believed that silver was plentiful somewhere on the southern bank of the Zambesi above Tete, —the exact locality was uncertain,—and as the Bantu tribes in that direction were too weak to offer much resistance, the captain general resolved to go in search of it and endeavour to retrieve the pecuniary losses he and his predecessor had sustained. Accordingly he proceeded by sea from Sofala to the Zambesi, and having ascended that river to Sena he disembarked and marched upward along it. It was a difficult country to traverse, for there were no roads in it such as are found in Europe, but there were well beaten footpaths along which the soldiers could march in single file, and the baggage was carried by blacks whose services were obtained from the petty chiefs on the route on payment of pieces of calico and beads. The men had become accustomed in the Kiteve's territory to travel in this way, still those who were attacked by fever suffered much, and in some places water was not easy to be had. How long they were on the journey from Sena to Tshikova is not mentioned in any of the records now in existence, but it must have been many weeks, and it cannot be doubted that their ranks were greatly thinned by death on the way.

At first the inhabitants were friendly, and there was no difficulty in purchasing provisions, but on approaching Tshikova Homem found that the people abandoned their kraals and fled, so he built a fort of wood and earth, and searched the country around for silver without discovering any. There were no competent miners or mineralogists with the expedition. Finding it impossible to maintain so large a party at Tshikova any longer, the captain general then left two hundred men under Antonio Cardoso d'Almeida in the fort to continue the search, and with the remainder of the force he returned to Mozambique.

The inhabitants now went back to their kraals, but kept away from the fort. After a time provisions began to fail, so D'Almeida sent out a raiding party that secured a quantity of millet and a few cattle. Some of the inhabitants after

this asked for peace, and terms were agreed upon, but when a band of soldiers left the fort to explore the country, it was attacked, and only a few men got back again. The place was then surrounded, and the siege was maintained until the provisions were exhausted, when the Portuguese tried to cut their way out, but were all killed.

Thus ended the expeditions under Francisco Barreto and Vasco Fernandes Homem, undertaken to get possession of the mineral wealth of South-Eastern Africa. Nothing more disastrous had happened to the Portuguese since their first appearance in Indian waters. The original army and all the reinforcements sent from Lisbon had perished, excepting a few score of worn out and fever-stricken men who reached Mozambique in the last stage of despondency. To compensate for the large expenditure that had been incurred, there was nothing more than the fort São Marçal at Sena and the few buildings within it. The extent of the disaster was realised by the king, and after a short and uneventful term of office by Dom Fernando de Monroy, who succeeded Vasco Fernandes Homem, an end was put to the captain generalship of Eastern Africa, which thereupon reverted to its former position as a dependency of the viceroyalty of India.

CHAPTER XIV.

EVENTS TO THE CLOSE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

On the 4th of August 1578 the great tragedy took place of the death of King Sebastião in battle with the Moors of Northern Africa, and the total destruction of the army which he commanded in person, the entire force of Portugal. At once the little kingdom lost the proud position she had occupied among the nations of Europe, and thereafter was regarded as of trifling importance. The country had been drained of men, and was completely exhausted. It must be remembered that she never was in as favourable a condition for conducting enterprises requiring large numbers of sailors and soldiers as the Netherlands were at a later date. She had no great reservoir of thews and muscles to draw from as Holland had in the German states. Spain was behind her, as the German states were behind the Netherlands, but Spain found employment for all her sons in Mexico and Peru. Portugal had to depend upon her own people. She was colonising Brazil and Madeira too, and occupying forts and factories on the western coast of Africa as well as on the shores of the eastern seas. Of the hosts of men—the very best of her blood—that went to India and Africa, few ever returned. They perished of fevers or other diseases, or they lost their lives in wars and shipwrecks, or they made homes for themselves far from their native land.

To procure labourers to till the soil of her southern provinces, slaves were introduced from Africa. In 1441 Antão Gonçalves and Nuno Tristão brought the first home with them, and then the doom of the kingdom was sealed.

No other Europeans have ever treated negroes so mildly as the Portuguese, or been so ready to mix with them on equal terms. But even in Estremadura, Alemtejo, and the Algarves it was impossible for the European without losing self respect to labour side by side with the African, and so all of the most enterprising of the peasant class moved away. The slaves, on embracing Christianity, had various privileges conferred upon them, and their blood became mixed with that of the least energetic of the peasantry, until a new and degenerate stock, frivolous, inconstant, incapable of improvement, was formed. In the northern provinces Entre Douro e Minho and Tras os Montes a pure European race remained, fit not only to conquer, but to hold dominion in distant lands, though too small in proportion to the entire population of the country to control its destinies. There to the present day are to be met men capable of doing anything that other Europeans can do, but to find the true descendants of the Portuguese heroes of the sixteenth century, one must not look among the lower classes of the southern and larger part of the country now.

Further, corruption of the grossest kind was prevalent in the administration everywhere. The great offices, including the captaincies of the factories and forts in the distant dependencies, were purchased from the favourites of the king, though they were said to be granted on account of meritorious services. Reversions were secured in advance, often several in succession, and there were even instances of individuals acquiring the reversion of captaincies for unnamed persons. Such offices were held for three years, and the men who obtained them did their utmost to make fortunes within that period. They were like the monomotapa of the Kalanga tribe, no one could approach them to ask a favour or to conduct business without a bribe in his hand, every commercial transaction paid them a toll. They had not yet sunk in the deep sloth that characterised them at a later date, but they lived in a style of luxury undreamed of in earlier days.

The exact manner in which Dom Sebastião met his death was never known. Many of the common people refused to believe that he had been slain: he was hidden away, they asserted, and in God's good time would return and restore the kingdom to its former glory. Many generations passed away before this strange conviction ceased to be held, and all the time, in expectation of some great supernatural occurrence in their favour, the nation allowed matters to take their course without making a supreme effort to rectify them. The cardinal Dom Henrique, an imbecile old man, ascended the throne, but he died on the 31st of January 1580, and with him the famous dynasty of Avis, that had ruled Portugal so long and so gloriously, became extinct in the direct male line.

The duchess of Bragança as the nearest heir in blood might have succeeded, her title being unquestionably clear, but the spirit of the nation was gone, and the duke, her husband, did not choose to maintain her right against Philippe II of Spain, who based his pretensions to the Portuguese throne on his being descended on his mother's side from a younger branch of the late royal family. Dom Antonio, prior of Crato, an illegitimate son of the duke of Beja, second son of Manuel the Fortunate, however, seized the vacant crown, but in August 1580, as the whole people did not rally round him, was easily expelled by a Spanish army commanded by the duke of Alva. Philippe II then added Portugal to his dominions, nominally as an independent kingdom with all its governmental machinery intact as before, really as a subordinate country, whose remaining resources, such as they were, he drew upon for his wars in the Netherlands. To outward appearance the little state might seem to occupy a more impregnable position after such a close union with her powerful neighbour, but it was not so in reality. The enemies of Spain now became her enemies also, her factories and fleets were exposed to attack, and she received no assistance in defending them. The period of her greatness had for ever passed away.

The establishment of missions among the Bantu by the Dominicans was the most important occurrence in South-Eastern Africa at this period. In 1577 Dom Luis d'Ataide, when on his way to Goa to assume duty as viceroy, found at Mozambique two friars of this order, named Jeronymo de Couto and Pedro Usus Maris, who had come from India and were preparing to proceed to Madagascar to labour among the natives of that island. The viceroy induced them to remain where they were, and provided them with means to build a convent, in which six or seven of the brethren afterwards usually resided. This was the centre from which their missions were gradually extended in Eastern Africa. South of the Zambesi, Sofala, Sena, and Tete were occupied within the next few years.

The missionaries found the Europeans and mixed breeds at these places without the ministrations of chaplains, and sadly ignorant in matters spiritual. In the church within the fortress at Sena, for instance, the friars were shocked to see a picture of the Roman matron Lucretia, which had been suspended over a shrine in the belief that it was a portrait of Saint Catherine, and they observed with much surprise that no one made any distinction between fast and feast days.

They turned their attention therefore first to the nominal Christians, and succeeded in effecting some improvement in the condition of that class of the inhabitants, most of whom, however, continued to live in a way that ministers of religion could not approve of. They next applied themselves to the conversion of the Bantu, but did not meet with the success which they hoped for, though they baptized a good many individuals. It was hardly possible for them to make converts except among those who lived about the forts as dependents of the white people, and who were certainly not the best specimens of their race. The condition of the tribes was then such that anything like improvement was well nigh impossible. Wars and raids were constant, for an individual to abandon the faith and customs of his forefathers

was regarded as treason to his chief, and sensuality had attractions too strong to be set aside. Away from the forts the missionaries were compelled to endure hardships and privations of every kind, hunger, thirst, exposure to heat, fatigue, and fever; but the initial part of their duty, as they understood it, was to suffer without complaint.

In 1585 Dom João Gayo Ribeiro, bishop of Malacca, wrote to the cardinal archduke Albert of Austria, who then governed Portugal for the king, requesting him to obtain a reinforcement of missionaries for the islands of Solor and Timur, where Christianity was believed to be making rapid progress. He addressed a similar letter to the provincial of the Dominicans, and this, when made public, created such enthusiasm that a considerable number of friars at once volunteered for service in India. Among them was one named João dos Santos, to whom we are indebted for a minute and excellent account of South-Eastern Africa and its people. Dos Santos sailed from Lisbon with thirteen others of the same order on the 13th of April 1586, and on the 13th of August of that year reached Mozambique, where he received instructions from his superior to proceed to Sofala to assist the friar João Madeira, who was stationed there. Accordingly he set out in the first pangayo that sailed, and after touching at the islands of Angosha and the rivers Kilimane, Old Kuama, and Luabo on the way, reached his destination on the 5th of December. Two others of the party, the friars Jeronymo Lopes and Joao Frausto, went to Sena and Tete, where they remained three years and a half. When Dos Santos took up his abode at the village of Sofala Garcia de Mello was captain of the station, subject to the control of the captain of Mozambique.

The fort built by Pedro d'Anaya had before this time been reconstructed of stone, and nothing of the original walls remained, but the tower erected by Manuel Fernandes was still standing. The form of the first structure—that of a square—was preserved, and a circular bastion had been added at each of the corners. The buildings within the walls were

a church, warehouses to contain goods and stores, offices, and residences for all the officials and people engaged in trade. There was also a large cistern in which rain was collected, as the water obtained in wells was not considered good. With the exception of a bombardier, a master gunner, and six assistants, the fort was without other garrison than the European residents of the place and their servants.

Close by was a village containing six hundred inhabitants professing Christianity. These were mixed breeds and negro slaves or others employed by the Portuguese, who in case of necessity would have been called upon to assist in defending the station. In this village there was a chapel, and while Dos Santos resided there a second place of devotion was built in it, as well as another some distance outside. The friar himself went with a party of men to an island in the Pungwe river to cut the timber needed in their construction and to repair and strengthen the church within the fort. The dwelling-houses in the village were tiny structures of wattles and mud covered with thatch, not much larger or better than the huts of Bantu.

Farther away was a hamlet occupied by about a hundred Mohamedans, very poor and humble, the descendants of those who had acknowledged Isuf as their lord. There was still one among them termed a sheik, but he was without any real authority. So entirely dependent were these Mohamedans upon the Portuguese, and so subject to control, that they were obliged to pay tithes of their garden produce to the Dominican fathers, just as the residents in the neighbouring Christian village. A few individuals of their creed were scattered about the country, but all were in the same abject condition as those at Sofala.

The gardens cultivated by the inhabitants produced a variety of vegetables, such as yams, sweet potatoes, cabbages, melons, cucumbers, beans, and onions, in addition to millet, rice, sugar canes, and sesame, the last of which was grown to express the oil. Sugar was not made, but the juicy pith of the cane was esteemed as an article of diet. Fruit too

was plentiful. The most common kinds were pomegranates, oranges, limes, pineapples, bananas—usually called Indian figs,—and cocoa nuts. There were even groves of lime trees that had been allowed to become wild, the fruit of which any one who chose could gather. The principal flesh consumed by the Europeans was that of barnyard poultry, as in some parts of South-Eastern Africa at the present day, although horned cattle, goats, and pigs were plentiful. Venison of various kinds was abundant, and fish of good quality was always obtainable. Everything here enumerated could be had at trifling cost in barter for beads and squares of calico, which were used instead of coin, so that the cost of living in a simple manner was very small; but wines and imported provisions were exceedingly dear. The matical of gold was the common standard of value in commercial transactions between Europeans.

Four leagues above the fort there was in the river an island named Maroupé, about eight leagues in length by a league and a half in breadth. The greater part of this island had been given by the Kiteve to a Portuguese named Rodrigo Lobo, whom he regarded as his particular friend. But it was in no way a dependency of the European establishment at the mouth of the stream, for Lobo, though he still maintained intercourse with his countrymen, ruled there as a vassal of the Bantu overlord, just as a Kalanga sub-chief would have done. He lived in a more luxurious style than any white man at Sofala, had a harem of black women, and was attended upon by numerous slaves. His descendants are to be found in the country at the present day, and still call themselves Portuguese, though they are not distinguishable from Bantu in features or colour.

Sofala was never visited now by a ship direct from Portugal or India, its imports coming from Mozambique and its exports going to that island. The coasting trade was carried on with pangayos and luzios manned by black men who claimed to be Mohamedans, but really knew and cared very little about religion, though they were excessively

superstitious and paid much attention to forms. The master, a mate, and a supercargo were commonly the only Europeans on board, and it sometimes happened that even these were mixed breeds.

Every year the Kiteve sent to the fort at Sofala for the cloth that was due to him under the agreement made by Vasco Fernandes Homem. It consisted of two hundred rolls, not mere squares, for each piece was worth more than a cruzado. It was necessary also, in order to maintain friendship with the powerful chief, to make presents of beads and calico of some value to his messengers, as they were selected by him with that expectation. This made commerce within his territory free, but any one passing through it to that of his neighbour the Tshikanga, in order to trade there, was obliged to pay him one piece of cloth out of every twenty. There was almost constant war between the four independent Kalanga chiefs, the Monomotapa, Tshikanga, Kiteve, and Selanda, which of course had a disturbing effect upon commerce.

Sena was at this time really a place of greater importance than Sofala, though it did not rank so high as a governmental station. The salaries paid to its officials amounted to little more than £500 a year, while those paid at Sofala exceeded £1100. This, however, gives nothing upon which to form an opinion of the value of an office at either place, as incomes were regarded as derivable from perquisites, not from pay. A few years later it was ascertained that one individual, whose salary during his term of office amounted to £850, had realised a fortune of not less than £57,000,—an enormous sum for that period. This was of course a very exceptional case, but probably there were few high officials who did not in some way receive their nominal salaries many times over.

Sena was the emporium of the trade of the Zambesi basin. Goods were brought here from Mozambique and stored in the warehouse within the fort until they were sent up the river to Tete in luzios, or up the Shire to the head waters

of navigation, thence to be conveyed by carriers in different directions, or to the territory of the Tshikanga to be bartered for gold. The fort was not yet fully completed, but several pieces of artillery were mounted on its walls. It contained a church, the factory with its storehouses, the residences of the captain and other officials, and the public offices. No soldiers were maintained here, the resident Portuguese and their dependents being regarded as sufficiently strong to defend the place if it should be attacked. The officials were appointed by the captain of Mozambique. In the village just outside the fort there were about fifty Portuguese residents and over seven hundred and fifty Indians, mixed breeds, and blacks. At this time slaves were not exported from the Zambesi, but captives were purchased from tribes that were at war, and were kept for service at all the stations. The blacks residing at Sena were of this class.

Every three years an embassy from the monomotapa visited Sena to receive calico and beads of the value of three thousand cruzados, which each captain of Mozambique on assuming office was obliged to pay for the privilege of trading in the great chief's territory during the term of his government. The embassy was conducted with much state, having at its head men of rank who acted in the capacities so well known to those who have dealings with Bantu, as eyes, ears, and mouth of the chief. A Portuguese returned with it, to deliver the calico and beads formally, so that everything might be carried out in a manner satisfactory to both parties. The monomotapa had a very simple way of enforcing this payment. If it was not made when due he ordered an *empata*, that is a seizure and confiscation of everything belonging to Portuguese in his country, and stopped all commerce. The goods so seized were never restored, though trade was resumed when merchandise to the full value of three thousand cruzados was forwarded to him. This system prevented payment by promises or running up accounts, which might otherwise have come into practice.

Up at the terminus of the river navigation by the Portuguese, two hundred and ninety kilometres from Sena, on the Botonga or southern bank of the stream, on ground one hundred and fifty-two metres above the level of the sea, stood Tete, the base of the trade with the interior. It contained a fort built of stone, with seven or eight pieces of artillery on its walls, which enclosed a chapel, dedicated to São Thiago, warehouses, offices, and other buildings. In the village adjoining it resided about forty Portuguese and some five hundred and fifty Indians, half breeds, and blacks professing Christianity, of the same class as those at Sofala and Sena. There was no garrison of soldiers, the fort being intended for the resident Europeans and their dependents to retire into in case of being attacked. The captain or head of the establishment was appointed by the captain of Mozambique and was subject to his authority.

Within a circuit of three or four leagues from Tete there were eleven kraals of Bantu, that could muster among them more than two thousand men capable of bearing arms. They had been conquered by the monomotapa some time before, and by him presented to the captain of Tete, who acted as their supreme ruler. So perfectly subject were they to him that they brought all cases of importance to him to be tried, and he appointed their headmen and could call out their warriors for service whenever he chose. They were the only Bantu south of the Zambesi, except the slaves and servants of the Europeans at the different stations, who were under Portuguese authority.

From Tete goods were conveyed on the backs of carriers who travelled in caravans to three stations in the Kalanga territory, named Masapa, Luanze, and Bukoto, at each of which a Portuguese who had charge of the local barter resided with some assistants. The most important of these stations, or places of fairs as they were called, was Masapa, twenty-two kilometres from the river Mazoe, about two hundred and ninety kilometres by footpath from Tete, and near the mountain Fura. The principal Portuguese resident

at Masapa, though selected for the post by the European inhabitants of the country conjointly with the Kalanga ruler, held the office of chief under the monomotapa, by whom he was vested with power, even of death, over the Bantu residents at the station. No white man or black trader acting for one could pass Masapa without permission from the Portuguese chief or the monomotapa himself, and the chief acted as agent for the monomotapa in receiving and forwarding to him one-twentieth of all the goods brought into that part of the country to be bartered for gold and ivory. This appointment he held for life. So far he was simply a Kaffir chief, and his domestic establishment was that of one. But he was also a Portuguese official. He held a commission from the viceroy of India giving him considerable authority over the Portuguese who went to Masapa for purposes of trade, and he was the medium through whom all communications with the monomotapa passed. He had the title of Capitao das Portas—Captain of the Gates,—on account of his peculiar position.

Luanze was about two hundred kilometres south of Tete, between the rivers Inyadiri and Aruenya, which united below it and then flowed into the Mazoe. The principal Portuguese resident here was also a sub-chief of the monomotapa, who placed the Bantu living at the station under his authority. He held a commission from the viceroy, making him head of the Portuguese frequenting the place; but he was not such an important personage as the Captain of the Gates.

Bukoto was about fifty-eight kilometres from Masapa, seventy-five from Luanze, and two hundred and thirty-two from Tete. It was situated at the junction of a streamlet with the Mazoe, and was the least important of the three places of fairs, with nothing particular to note about it. At none of them had the Portuguese any authority whatever over the Bantu except such as was derived from the monomotapa, who permitted the trading stations to be established in his country on account of the benefit which he derived

from them. By doing so he did not consider that he had diminished his right of sovereignty, and the exercise of authority by the captains over men of their own race, by virtue of power derived from the viceroy of India, was in full accordance with Bantu ideas of government being tribal rather than territorial.

The monomotapa of the time when Dos Santos resided at Sofala, who bore also the title Mambo, was well disposed towards the Portuguese. He gave the Dominicans leave to establish missions in his country, and they had already put up little structures for places of prayer at Masapa, Luanze, and Bukoto. They had not as yet, however, men to occupy these places permanently, but the friar who resided at Tete occasionally visited them. The white people never made a request from Mambo without accompanying it with a present —usually a piece of coloured calico—for himself and something of equal value for his principal wife, their special pleader, whose name was Ma Zarira. This was the custom of the country, for no black man could obtain an audience unless he presented an ox, a goat, or something else according to his means.

In describing the country Dos Santos mentions several kingdoms bordering on the territory of the monomotapa, but in reality these were nothing more than tracts of land inhabited by Bantu tribes under independent chiefs. The kingdom of Sedanda was one of those which he named. This was the territory lying between Sofala and the Sabi river, the ocean and the mountain range bordering the interior plain, occupied by a tribe of the same blood as the Makalanga, under a chief who bore the hereditary title of Sedanda. One of the Sedandas in Dos Santos' time committed suicide, on account of his being afflicted with leprosy. Of the region west of the monomotapa's territory the Portuguese knew nothing except from vague Kalanga reports, for no one of them or of the wandering Mohamedans had ever visited it. It would be useless therefore to repeat the names of the so-called kingdoms given by the Dominican friar. Of the

longitudes of places he had of course no knowledge. He believed Angola could not be very far distant, and he states that a blanket brought overland from that country by black traders was purchased by a Portuguese in Manika and shown to him at Sofala as a curiosity. It is just possible that the blanket was carried across the continent, but it is much more likely that the friar was deceived as to the place from which it came. At that time the head waters of the Zambesi were quite unknown, though the Portuguese were fairly well acquainted with the principal features of the great lake region, through accounts obtained from Mohamedan traders as well as from Bantu. Owing to this circumstance their maps of East Central Africa were tolerably correct, while those of South Africa were utterly misleading.

Dos Santos states that copper and iron were plentiful in the country. The iron was regarded as of superior quality, so much so that a quantity was once sent to India to make guns of. Though the smelting furnaces were of the crudest description, implements of this metal manufactured by themselves were used by the Makalanga in great abundance, just as a few years ago among the Bapedi farther south, where waggon loads could be collected at a single kraal. He mentions also the manufacture by some of the Bantu of machiras, or loin cloths, from cotton which grew wild along the banks of the Zambesi.

As yet no attempt had been made to colonise any part of Africa south of the Zambesi on one coast and Benguela on the other. Commerce and the conversion of the heathen were the sole objects of the Portuguese who visited the country, and indeed they had no surplus population with which to form settlements in it. They did not touch at any part of the coast between Benguela and Delagoa Bay when they could avoid doing so, because there was no trade of any kind to be carried on there and because after the slaughter of Dom Francisco d'Almeida and his people on the shore of Table Bay the Hottentots were regarded as the most ferocious of savages, with whom it

was well to have as little intercourse as possible. They would have been pleased had they found a port somewhere on the southern shore that their ships could have taken shelter in when returning from India to Lisbon during the time of the westerly gales, but they always tried to pass by in the summer season and to make the run from Mozambique to the island of Saint Helena without a break.

Some years before the arrival of Dos Santos at Sofala a dreadful wave of war and destruction rolled over the country north of the lower Zambesi. A horde of barbarians made their appearance from a distant part of the continent, probably—judging from the few words of their language that have been preserved—from some locality on or near the western coast, and laid the whole territory along their course utterly waste. Theirs was just such another march as that of the horde under Ma Ntati, which passed over the country from the upper Caledon to the border of the Kalahari desert in the early years of the nineteenth century, leaving nothing behind it, where a thickly populated land had been, but ashes and skeletons of men and animals. And just as the horde under Ma Ntati broke into fragments and perished, so did this which appeared on the Zambesi opposite Tete in 1570.

Finding that stream a barrier which it could not cross intact, one large section turned to the north-east, and finally reached the shore of the Indian sea, along which it committed the most frightful ravages. The island of Mozambique could not be attacked, but its inhabitants suffered severely from the famine caused by the devastation of the mainland. A body of about forty Portuguese, under the captain Nuno Velho Pereira, with as many slaves as could be collected, endeavoured to protect the plantations at Cabaceira, but nearly the whole of them perished in the attempt, and their bodies were eaten by the savages on the shore. Only Nuno Velho Pereira and two or three other Europeans managed to escape. Thus the greater

number of the inhabitants of the island were cut off, and those who remained were in the direst straits for want of food until supplies reached them by sea. This happened in the year 1585. What remained of ancient Kilwa was wiped out of existence, Mombasa was nearly destroyed, and the progress of the cannibal horde was only stopped at Melinde, where Mattheus Mendes de Vasconcellos, head of the factory, with thirty Portuguese and three thousand Bantu warriors, aided the Mohamedan ruler in resistance, and inflicted a defeat upon them in which they were nearly exterminated.

Shortly after the first appearance of the great horde on the Bororo or northern bank of the Zambesi, a small party managed to cross the river, and appeared in the neighbourhood of Tete, but Jeronymo d'Andrade, captain of that station, had no difficulty in driving them back, as the barbarians were so amazed at the effects of the fire from a few arquebuses, which they attributed to witchcraft, that they fled without resistance.

Not long after this event another and much larger band, consisting of ten or twelve thousand men under a chief named Sonza, by some means got across the river, and attacked a clan that was friendly to the Portuguese, killing every living thing and destroying whatever they came across. Jeronymo d'Andrade got together a force of about a hundred Portuguese, and with some four thousand Batonga allies took the field against Sonza. On his approach some of the invaders constructed a rough lager or enclosure of bushes and earth, within which they attempted to defend themselves, but as they were still exposed to the fire of arquebuses they were speedily driven out and dispersed. They and the others of their party were then hunted until it was believed about five thousand had been killed. The remainder of the band escaped, and joined the horde that was laying waste the country towards the coast of Mozambique.

In 1592 two sections of these invaders remained on the northern bank of the lower Zambesi. One was called by the

Portuguese the Mumbos, the other was the far-dreaded Mazimba. Dos Santos says that both were cannibals, and there is no reason to doubt his assertion, for traditions concerning the Mazimba are still current all over Southern Africa, in which they are represented as ogres or inhuman monsters, and their name is used generally to imply eaters of human flesh. But in all probability they had adopted that custom from want of other food, and would have abandoned it gradually if they had obtained domestic cattle and could have cultivated gardens. The men were much stronger and more robust than Makalanga. They carried immense shields made of ox hide, and were variously armed with assagais, battle-axes, and bows and arrows.

One of the chiefs of the Mumbos, named Kwizura, with about six hundred warriors, attacked a clan friendly to the Portuguese at Tshikarongo, north of the Zambesi, ten leagues from Tete. The clan fled after sustaining severe losses, and applied to Pedro Fernandes de Chaves, captain of Tete, for assistance. The captain thereupon summoned his eleven sub-chiefs, who at once joined him with their men, and with these and the resident Portuguese he crossed the river and marched against Kwizura, who was found in a lager of stakes and earth which he had constructed. Together with the followers of the dispossessed chief the attacking force was so strong that it was able to surround the lager and storm it, when Kwizura and every one of his warriors fell. The courtyard of the hut in which the Mumbo chief had lived was found paved with the skulls of those he had killed and eaten. After resting a few days, the people of Tete returned to their homes, taking with them as slaves Kwizura's women and children. Such was the style of warfare on the Zambesi at the close of the sixteenth century.

Dos Santos was at Tete just before this event. After a residence of three years and a half at Sofala, during which time they baptized seventeen hundred individuals, most of whom must have been Bantu, he and his associate the frfar João Madeira had been summoned to Mozambique by their

provincial to labour in another field, and had left Sofala in July 1590 and travelled overland to the Zambesi in order to obtain a passage in a pangayo. But on their arrival they found no vessel would be leaving that year, so they arranged that João Madeira should remain at Sena and Dos Santos should proceed up the river to Tete to do duty for the priest there, who was prostrate with illness. He arrived at Tete in September 1590, and remained at that place until May 1591, when he went down to the mouth of the Zambesi, and with the father João Madeira proceeded to Mozambique. He was then sent to the island of Querimba, but in April 1594 was instructed to proceed to Sofala again on a special mission. In consequence of this he went to Mozambique, and when the favourable monsoon set in took passage in a pangayo bound to Delagoa Bay, which was to touch at Sofala on the passage. Five days after leaving Mozambique he reached his destination. The pangayo proceeded to Delagoa Bay, where her officers employed themselves in bartering ivory for nearly a year. She was about to return to Mozambique when some Bantu fell upon her captain Manuel Malheiro and another officer, murdered them and plundered the hut in which they had lived and the vessel. One white man remained alive, who succeeded in getting away with the empty pangayo and her Mohamedan crew. To such perils were the Portuguese exposed at the distant trading places on the coast.

On the 16th of April 1595 Dos Santos once more left Sofala for Mozambique, from which place he went to India, and then to Portugal, where his volume *Ethiopia Oriental* was printed in the Dominican convent at Evora in 1609. But his career in Africa was not yet ended, and we shall meet him again on the Zambesi in another chapter. His successor at Tete was the friar Nicolau do Rosario, of the same order, a man of great devotion, who had suffered much in the wreck of the ship *São Thomé* in 1589.

Before the destruction of Kwizura's band, while Dos Santos was still on the river, a powerful chief of the

Mazimba, named Tondo, attacked some people who were on very friendly terms with the Portuguese and who lived on the northern bank of the Zambesi opposite Sena, dispossessed them of their land and killed and ate many of them. In 1592 these fugitives applied to André de Santiago, captain of Sena, for aid, and he, desiring to emulate the action of Pedro Fernandes de Chaves, collected as large a force as he could, Portuguese, mixed breeds, slaves, and friendly Bantu, and with two cannon taken from the walls of his fort crossed the river to attack the Mazimba, who were entrenched in a lager of unusual height and strength. Finding his force unequal to the enterprise he had undertaken, the captain of Sena formed a camp on the bank of a rivulet flowing into the Zambesi, and sent to Tete for assistance.

Pedro Fernandes de Chaves responded by calling out his Bantu retainers and nearly all the Portuguese and half-breeds of Tete, with whom he crossed the Zambesi and marched down its northern bank towards the locality of the war. The Dominican friar Nicolau do Rosario accompanied the force as chaplain. When within a few miles of their destination the Portuguese and principal half-breeds, totally unsuspicious of danger, entered a thicket through which the path passed. They were half a league in advance of their Bantu auxiliaries, and, as was their usual way of travelling, were in palanquins and hammocks borne by their slaves, with other attendants carrying their arquebuses, when they were suddenly attacked by a band of Mazimba. Every man of them was killed on the spot except the friar, who was badly wounded and seized as a prisoner. He was taken to the lager and bound to a tree, where he was made a target for the arrows of his captors till death came to his relief. The Bantu auxiliaries, upon ascertaining what had happened, returned with all haste to Tete.

On the following morning the Mazimba appeared in triumph before André de Santiago's camp, with a man beating upon the drum taken from the Portuguese. Their chief was dressed in the murdered friar's robes, and the head of

Pedro Fernandes de Chaves was carried aloft on the point of an assagai. The spoil taken in the thicket was exhibited in bravado, and with it the limbs of those who had fallen, which were destined to supply a feast for the cannibal band. The captain of Sena and his men looked at the cruel Mazimba with horror and dismay. That night they attempted to retreat, but on the bank of the Zambesi the enemy fell upon them, and after a stout resistance killed André de Santiago and many of his followers. The two captains, the priest of Tete, and a hundred and thirty white men and mixed breeds had now perished. The Portuguese power and influence on the Zambesi was almost annihilated.

While these events were taking place Dom Pedro de Sousa succeeded Lourenço de Brito as captain of Mozambique. At a later date he became very unpopular as a governor, being tyrannical in his conduct and permitting his son Dom Francisco to conduct himself as a brawler without reproof. For this he was punished by order of the king, but at the time to which this narrative has reached he was new to his office and therefore untried. He resolved to recover the position that had been lost on the Zambesi, and for this purpose he enlisted as many Europeans as were obtainable, and with them, seventy-five or eighty soldiers drawn from the garrison of the fort, and a good supply of artillery and other munitions of war, in 1593 he sailed for Sena. Here he formed a camp, and enlisted white men, mixed breeds, and Bantu, until he had a force under his command of about two hundred arquebusiers and fifteen hundred blacks armed in the usual manner.

With these he crossed the river and attacked Tondo's stronghold, into which he tried to open an entrance with his cannon, but failed. Then he endeavoured to take the lager by storm, but when his men were crowded together close to it, the Mazimba shot their arrows, hurled their barbed assagais, and threw boiling water and burning fat upon them, until they fell back discomfited. Next he began to form huge wickerwork frames to be filled with earth, from the

tops of which arquebusiers could keep the wall of the lager clear with their fire while men below were breaking it down, but before they could be completed the people he had engaged at Sena, who had now been two months in the field, clamoured to be allowed to return home, fearing, as they said, that their wives and children were in danger. Dom Pedro was obliged to accede to their demand, and commenced to retreat. While he was leaving his camp the Mazimba attacked him, and after killing many of his men, took his artillery and the greater part of his baggage. He and the remnant of his army escaped to Sena with difficulty, and from that place he returned to Mozambique, leaving matters along the great river in a worse condition than ever before.

Tondo, however, made an offer of peace to the people of Sena, on condition that they should not interfere again in matters that only concerned Bantu tribes. The Mazimba, they were informed, had no desire to quarrel with white people, and had acted in self-defence throughout the war. The few traders at Sena were only too pleased to accept the proposal and resume their ordinary manner of living, though they had thereafter to submit to many insults and exactions from the victorious tribe. In 1597 some cannon and a quantity of ammunition and other supplies needed in war were sent from India by the viceroy, and the forts at Sena and Tete were equipped so that the inhabitants could find safety within them in case of attack. Gradually also men came to these stations to replace those who had been killed, so that in the time of Nuno da Cunha, who followed Jeronymo de Azevedo, Dom Pedro de Sousa's successor as captain of Mozambique, the villages recovered their earlier appearance.

These wars had such important consequences for all South-Eastern Africa that they should be treated of much more fully, but authentic documentary material does not exist for the purpose. It is only, therefore, by piecing together certain facts that deductions can be drawn as to what

actually occurred. The Mumbos of the Portuguese are to a certainty the Abambo of more recent history, but what their relationship to the Mazimba was cannot be definitely stated. In all probability, however, they were enemies, and one horde was following or pursuing the other from some starting point far to the northwestward, just as the Amangwane pursued the kindred Amahlubi over the Drakensberg during the wars of Tshaka early in the nineteenth century.

A section of the Abambo must have directed its march towards the south some time between 1570 and 1590, though it is impossible to recover the exact date or to trace the line of advance. That it was a raid terribly destructive of human life cannot be doubted, for all such invasions by Bantu are. The Portuguese may have taken no notice of it, as it did not affect them in any way, or they may have been too deeply absorbed with their own troubles to place anything else on record, or they may even have been entirely ignorant of what was going on at a short distance from them, just as the Cape government and Cape colonists were for many years of the murderous career of the Amangwane or the Matabele.

The Abambo at length reached the valley of the Tugela river, in what is now the colony of Natal, where they formed settlements. The horde must have been composed of the remnants of various tribes that had once been independent of each other. After it increased in number it broke up again into independent fragments, in which condition its sections were when Tshaka's trained regiments commenced their career of conquest. The tribes that had once formed the Abambo were then again dispersed and nearly exterminated, as will be related in another volume.

It is highly probable that many of the ancestors of the men who fought under Tshaka were connected with the Mazimba of the sixteenth century, and followed the Abambo southward. There was a great deal in common between them, including the special military tactics which enabled

Tshaka to win his greatest victories. This, however, is not absolutely certain, though a great amount of evidence points in that direction.

These movements of tribes, of whom before they arrived on the Zambesi absolutely nothing is known, and the career of some of whose offshoots can only be dimly traced by means of indirect evidence, caused a great expansion of the Bantu along the south-eastern coast. The Hottentots and Bushmen were too weak to resist, and such modern tribes as the Xosa, Tembu, and Pondo then branched off from a parent stock, and pressed on to the south-west to get away from the commotions behind them.

The manner in which the Portuguese carried on trade in the country varied at different periods during the sixteenth century. At first it was conducted by factors appointed by the king, who sent out agents to sell goods supplied by the royal treasury, into which the proceeds were paid. After a time, however, the principal officials, whose salaries were very small, were allowed a share of the commerce, which was strictly defined. Thus, in 1559 the viceroy gave permission to Pantaleão de Sá, captain of Sofala and Mozambique, to purchase and send to India one hundred bars * of ivory every year for sale on his own account. In 1562 Fernão Martins Freire d'Andrade, captain of Sofala and Mozambique, was granted by royal authority a monopoly of the commerce of the coast in pitch and coir, one-twentieth of the proceeds of the ivory barter upon his contributing one-twentieth of the capital employed in it, and was further to have a two-hundredth part of the profits on all other trade within the territory south of the Zambesi; and the factors and notaries were to have another two-hundredth part divided amongst them. The trade was still to be conducted for the royal

* The bar was a varying weight on the East African coast. At Mozambique it was equal to 229·6 kilogrammes of our time; on the Zambesi to 293·8 kilogrammes; at Sofala, if of ivory 239·8 kilogrammes, if of other merchandise 247·9 kilogrammes. Under these circumstances it is impossible in many instances to give the weight with absolute accuracy.

treasury, and the captain was to send requisitions to Goa for the merchandise needed to carry it on.

In 1585 Dom Jorge de Menezes, chief ensign of Portugal, succeeded Nuno Velho Pereira as captain of Mozambique. On his appointment the viceroy Dom Duarte de Menezes granted him a monopoly of the trade of Inhambane and of the whole coast south of Delagoa Bay, and subsequently farmed out to him the entire commerce of the country south of the Zambesi for fifty thousand cruzados a year. But in addition to this he was to maintain the forts in good order and to pay all the officials and expenses of government of every kind, according to a list which was drawn up. On the expiration of his term of office he was to undergo a trial, and was to prove that these conditions had been faithfully observed and that all public buildings were in the same state as when he took them over.

This system had the advantage of adding something to the royal treasury, and of extending commerce more than ever before. When the experiment was made Sofala was yielding nothing except the profit on a small quantity of ivory, insufficient to meet the trifling cost of the maintenance of the station: four years later elephants' tusks weighing twenty-three thousand kilogrammes were collected there yearly. Greater profit was gained from ivory than from any other article of commerce in Eastern Africa at this time. Taking one year with another, a quantity weighing nearly fifty thousand kilogrammes was sent annually to India by the captains while they had a monopoly of the trade. Gold came next, but the quantity obtained cannot be even approximately stated. Ambergris followed, and then in order pearls, gum, and wax. The system made the whole of the Portuguese inhabitants of the country dependents of the captain of Mozambique, but their position was quite as bad before. The most that can be said in favour of it is that the law protected them in person and property, and that after 1548 no sentence of death could be carried into execution until it was confirmed by the supreme court of India.

In 1591 the government of Lisbon ordered the trade to be carried on again by the king's treasury, but two years later another experiment was made. This was to allow the captain of Mozambique a monopoly of the commerce in ivory, ambergris, and coir, and one-fiftieth of all the gold collected; and to throw open the trade in gold and other articles to all Portuguese subjects. Customs duties at the rate of six per cent upon goods imported and of twenty per cent upon gold exported were to be paid. This plan was in operation only two years when it was abandoned, and the system of farming out the whole of the commerce of the country south of the Zambesi to the captain of Mozambique was again resorted to. In 1596 Nuno da Cunha was appointed to that office, when the viceroy entered into a contract with him to pay forty thousand pardaos, or £9,600,* a year for his monopoly, to which the king added that he must also pay customs duties on merchandise imported.

North of the Zambesi the inhabitants of Mozambique were allowed to trade, as the policy of the government was to encourage them, in order to strengthen the means of defence of the fort. The jurisdiction of the captain at the close of the sixteenth century extended to all the stations and trading places from the island of Inyaka to Cape Delgado.

* Reckoning the pardao at three hundred and sixty reis, and the real as at this time equal to 0·16*d.* But it is very doubtful what the word pardao really signified in the contract. In another document I have found it used as an equivalent for cruzado, and in still another as equivalent to a xerafin of three hundred reis. If the gold coin of the name was meant, the amount would be about £14,000. It is not possible to give the exact equivalent, as unless where expressly stated as of gold, the pardao of the accounts, like the real, was an imaginary coin, representing different values not only at different times but at different places at the same time.

CHAPTER XV.

KNOWLEDGE DERIVED FROM SHIPWRECKS.

Of the Bantu tribes along the seaboard north of the Umzimvubu a good deal of knowledge was obtained during the sixteenth century by the crews of wrecked ships, some of whom underwent almost incredible suffering before their restoration to the society of civilised men. By order of King Sebastião a flying survey of the coast between the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Correntes was also made during the years 1575 and 1576, by which much information was supposed to have been gained.

Occasionally vessels disappeared after leaving Portugal or India, and were never heard of again. Some of these were probably lost on the African shore, though of this there is no certainty except in one instance, when part of a stranded ship was found at the mouth of the river now known as the Saint Lucia, but without a trace of any one that had sailed in her. Particulars, however, have been preserved of the loss successively of the *São João*, the *São Bento*, the *Santiago*, the *São Thomé*, and the *Santo Alberto*, from each of which some of the crew escaped, and after much intercourse with Bantu succeeded in reaching Mozambique.

The *São João* was a great galleon laden with a very valuable cargo, which left Cochin on the 3rd of February 1552 to return to Portugal. She had about two hundred and twenty Portuguese and nearly four hundred slaves on board, and, as was usual at that time, an officer of high rank who was going home was captain in command. The master of the ship directed the working, and the pilot pointed out

the course, but the captain gave instructions in such matters as what ports they were to put into and when they were to sail; he also preserved discipline and exercised general control. The captain of the *São João* — Manuel de Sousa Sepulveda by name — was accompanied by his wife, Dona Leonor, a young and amiable lady of noble blood, his two little sons, and a large train of attendants and slaves, male and female.

On the 12th of May, when only a hundred and twenty kilometres from the Cape of Good Hope, the galleon encountered a violent gale from the west-north-west, and soon a very heavy sea was running, as is usually the case when the wind and the Agulhas current oppose each other. Some sails had been lost in a storm on the equator, and there were no others on board than those in use, which were old and worn. On this account it was not considered prudent to attempt to lie to, and so the ship was put before the wind under her fore and main courses. After some days the gale veered to another quarter, shifting at last to the west-south-west, when the tremendous seas caused the ship to labour so heavily that she lost her masts and rudder. Those on board feared every moment that she would go down. An attempt was made, however, to set up jury masts, to fix a new rudder, and with some cloth that was on board converted into a substitute for sails to endeavour to reach Mozambique. But the new rudder, being too small, proved useless, and the galleon like a helpless log was driven towards the coast, from which there were no means of keeping her. On the 8th of June she was close to the land a little to the eastward of the mouth of the Umzimvubu, very near if not exactly off the spot where the English ship *Grosvenor* was lost two hundred and thirty years later. There, as the weather had moderated, the bower anchors were dropped, between which the galleon lay at a distance of two crossbow shots from the shore, almost waterlogged.

The captain now resolved to land the people and as much provisions and other necessaries as possible, to construct a

temporary fort, and with materials taken from the ship to build a small caravel that could be sent to Sofala for aid. There was no hope of saving the cargo, but he thought of getting out some calico with which to obtain food in barter from the inhabitants of the country, if that should be needed. Only two boats were left, of which one was little larger than a skiff. In these the captain, his family, and about seventy others were conveyed to the shore. But on the third day the wind freshened and caused a heavy swell, both the boats were dashed to pieces on the rocks, and the seaward cable of the galleon parting, she was driven on shore and within a few hours broke into fragments. Over a hundred men and women were lost in the surf, and many of those who reached the land alive were badly bruised.

All hope of getting timber to build a caravel was now lost, and only a small quantity of food was secured. As soon therefore as the bruised people were sufficiently recovered to travel, the whole party set out to try to walk along the shore to the river of Lourenço Marques. To that place a small vessel was sent nearly every year from Mozambique to barter ivory, and the only faint chance of preserving their lives that remained to the shipwrecked people was to reach the river and find the trading party. They had seen some Kaffirs on the hills close by, and had heard those barbarians shouting to each other, but had not been able to obtain any information or provisions from them.

On the 7th of July they left the scene of the wreck. At the end of a month they were only a hundred and forty-four kilometres from it, for they had been obliged to make many detours in order to cross the rivers. Their sufferings from thirst were at times greater than from cold, hunger, and weariness combined. Of all the party Dona Leonor was the most cheerful, bidding the others take heart, and talking of the better days that were to come. They eked out their little supply of food with wild plants, oysters, and mussels, and sometimes they found quite an abundance of fish in pools among the rocks at low tide.

And now every day two or three fell behind exhausted, and perished. To add to their troubles, bands of Kaffirs hovered about them, and on several occasions they were attacked, though as they had a few firelocks and some ammunition, they were easily able to drive their assailants back. At the end of three months those who were in advance reached the territory of the old Inyaka, whom Lourenço Marques and Antonio Caldeira had named Garcia de Sá, and whose principal kraal was on the right bank of the Umfusi river, which flows into Delagoa Bay. This chief received them in a friendly manner, supplied them with food and lodging, and sent his men to search for those who were straggling on behind. In return, he asked for assistance against a chief living about thirty-two kilometres to the southward, with whom he was at war. De Sousa sent an officer and twenty men to help him, with whose aid he won a victory and got possession of all his opponent's cattle.

Garcia de Sá wished the white people to remain with him, and he warned them against a tribe that lived in front, but as soon as they were well rested and had recovered their strength, they resolved to push on. They crossed the Maputa in canoes furnished by the friendly chief, and five days later reached the Espirito Santo, where they learned from some of the inhabitants, through the interpretation of a female slave from Sofala who had picked up a little of the dialect, that a vessel from Mozambique, having men like themselves on board, had been there, but was then a long time gone. Manuel de Sousa now became partly demented, and his brave wife, Dona Leonor, who had borne all the hardships of the journey so cheerfully, was plunged by this new misfortune into the greatest distress.

With what object is not stated, but for some reason they still pressed on northward. They were reduced to one hundred and twenty souls, all told, when they crossed the Espirito Santo or river of Lourenço Marques in canoes supplied by the inhabitants at the price of a few nails, and entered the territory of the chief of whom Garcia de Sá had

warned them. His kraal was about five kilometres farther on. He professed to receive them with favour, and for a few days supplied them with provisions, but at length informed them that they must entrust him with the care of their arms while they were in his country, as that was one of his laws. Dona Leonor objected to this, but the males of the party complied with the chief's demand, in the belief that by doing so they would secure his friendship. As soon as they were in a defenceless condition he caused them to be separated, under pretence of distributing them among different kraals where they would be provided with food, but kept the captain with his family and about twenty others at his own residence.

Those who dispersed were immediately stripped of their clothing and driven away to perish. Then the captain was robbed of a quantity of precious stones — worth several thousand pounds—as well as some gold that he had with him, and he and his family and attendants were ordered to leave the kraal. They wandered about for two days, without meeting any of their late associates in misery, when some of the inhabitants fell upon them and stripped them naked. Dona Leonor, who fought like a tigress while the barbarians were tearing her garments from her, sat down on the ground with her two little boys, her half demented husband, and a few faithful female slaves beside her. The white men of the party, who could do nothing to relieve such anguish as hers, went on in search of wild plants with which to prolong their lives. Shortly afterwards one of the boys died of hunger, when the father scraped a hole in the sand and buried the body. The next day he went to seek some roots or berries for his starving wife, and on his return found her and the other child dead and the slave women wailing loudly. They buried the mother and child in the sand, after which the sorely afflicted nobleman disappeared in a thicket, and was never seen again.

Eight Portuguese, fourteen male slaves, and three of the female slaves who were with Dona Leonor when she died,

managed to preserve their lives. Some of them wandered to a distance of eighty kilometres from the scene of the last disaster. At length a trading vessel put into the bay in search of ivory, and her captain, hearing of the unfortunate people, rescued them by offering for each a trifling reward in beads.

They reached Mozambique on the 25th of May 1553. Diogo de Mesquita, who was then captain of that island and the stations south of the Zambesi, sent a little vessel to search along the coast, but no trace of any of the lost people could be found.*

* It is this tragic occurrence to which Luis de Camões alludes in the fifth canto of the *Lusiads*, verses 46 to 48 :

46.

Outro tambem virá de honrada fama,
Liberal, cavalleiro e namorado,
E comsigo trará a formosa dama,
Que Amor por grão mercê lhe terá dado ;
Triste ventura e negro fado os chama
Neste terreno meu, que duro e irado
Os deixará d'hum cru naufragio vivos,
Para verem trabalhos excessivos.

47.

Verão morrer com fome os filhos charos,
Em tanto amor gerados e nascidos ;
Verão os Cafres asperos e avaros
Tirar á linda dama seus vestidos ;
Os crystallinos membros e preclaros
Á calma, ao frio, ao ar verão despidos,
Despois de ter pizada longamente
Co' os delicados pés a aréa ardente.

48.

E verão mais os olhos que escaparem
De tanto mal, de tanta desventura,
Os dous amantes miseros ficarem
Na fervida e implacabil espessura ;
Alli, despois que as pedras abrandarem
Com lagrimas de dôr de magoa pura,
Abraçados as almas soltarão
Da formosa e miserrima prisão.

The *São Bento* was one of a fleet of five ships sent by King João the third to India in March 1553. Among those who sailed in her on her outward passage was Luis de Camões, whose name still lives as that of the prince of Portuguese poets. She was one of the largest vessels of her time, and was commanded by Fernão Alvares Cabral, who was commodore of the squadron. Having reached her destination in safety, she took in a return cargo, and sailed from Cochin on the 1st of February 1554. On the passage stormy weather with a very heavy sea was encountered, in which the ship sustained great damage, and when she reached the African coast it was feared every moment that she would go to the bottom. On the 21st of

As translated into English by J. J. Aubertin :

46.

Another too shall come of honoured fame,
Liberal and generous and with heart enchained,
And with him he shall bring a lovely dame,
Whom through Love's favouring grace he shall have gained;
Sad fate, dark fortune nought can e'er reclaim,
Call them to this my realm, where rage unreined
Shall leave them after cruel wreck alive,
With labours insupportable to strive.

47.

Their children shall die starving in their sight,
Who were in such affection bred and born;
They shall behold by Caffres' grasping might
Her clothing from the lovely lady torn;
Shall see her form, so beautiful and white,
To heat, cold, wind, exposed, and all forlorn,
When she has trod o'er leagues and leagues of land
With tender feet upon the burning sand.

48.

And more those eyes shall witness, which survive,
Of so much evil and so much mischance;
Shall see the two sad lovers, just alive,
Into the dense unpitying woods advance;
There, where the hearts of very stones they rive
With tears of grief and anguished sufferance,
In fond embrace their souls they shall set free
From the fair prison of such misery.

April she struck upon a rocky ledge on the western side of the mouth of the Umtata,* and in a few minutes broke into fragments.

Forty-four Portuguese and over a hundred slaves lost their lives in trying to reach the shore, and two hundred and twenty-four slaves and ninety-nine Portuguese, many of them severely bruised, managed to get to land. Among the latter was Manuel de Castro, one of the few survivors of the crew of the *São João*, who died, however, a few hours later from injuries received during the breaking up of the ship. A small quantity of provisions was washed ashore with the débris of the cargo, but it was so much damaged with salt water that it could not long remain fit for use.

After this was collected and a temporary shelter was made of carpets and silks, a general consultation took place as to what was best to be done. Some thought it advisable to try to march overland to the watering place of Saldanha, but this was overruled by the majority, because of the fierceness of the people living in that direction, as had been proved by the slaughter of the viceroy D'Almeida and so many of his companions, and further because vessels very seldom called there and consequently, even if they should arrive with life, most probably all would perish before relief appeared. Others were of opinion that they should remain where they were and endeavour to construct some kind of craft that could be sent to Sofala for aid, but this too was overruled, as the supply of food would soon be exhausted, and they had no proper materials for building a boat. There was then but one other plan. Before they left India

* Termed the Infante in the account of the wreck given by one of the officers who was saved, but there is ample evidence in this document and in another by the same officer that the Umtata was the scene of the disaster. On that wild and little frequented coast the mouth of any considerable stream south of the Umzimvubu would be set down as the Infante by a Portuguese who saw it. He would know there was a large river of that name somewhere between the Umzimvubu and the islet of the Cross, and he would not know there were many others. The crew of the *São Bento* passed over no stream of any importance before they reached the Umzimvubu, the São Christovão as they termed it.

Lourenço Marques was preparing for a voyage to the river which bore his name, in order to trade for ivory, and their only hope of life was to make their way northward and reach him before his departure, which would be some time in June, or, if that should fail, to push on to Sofala.

Accordingly, on the 27th of April they set out, each one heavily laden with food, pieces of calico, and nails or other iron for barter. A ship's boy and a female slave, who were too severely hurt to live long, were of necessity left behind. They had seen a few naked savages at the place of the wreck, but there were no huts or any indications of kraals in the neighbourhood, so after crossing the river they directed their course inland, towards the north-east, in hope of finding people from whom they could obtain guides and provisions in exchange for iron. But for four days they were disappointed, and when on the fifth day of their march they came to a kraal of about twenty huts, its inhabitants were found to be living on wild roots and plants, so that no food was to be had from them.

Finding the country almost uninhabited, a little later they resolved to turn towards the shore, where they could at least obtain shellfish, and where they believed the rivers could be more easily crossed than inland, as all had bars of sand at their mouths. Before they reached the Umzimvubu several of the weakest of the party became utterly exhausted, and were abandoned on the way. The passage of this river was accomplished with the greatest difficulty, and on the following day, the thirteenth of the journey, the sea was reached at the place where the *São João* was lost. Some of her timbers were still to be seen, and in a deserted kraal in the neighbourhood pieces of chinaware and other articles used by Europeans were found.

After this, keeping along the shore, they found a good supply of mussels and oysters, and considered the beach much better for travelling over than the rough mountains and valleys inland. The country was inhabited, but its people were hostile, bands of them constantly hovering

about, ready to attack loiterers. Five days after leaving the Umzimvubu they reached the Umtamvuna, which they crossed on rafts, after a skirmish with the inhabitants. Four days later they were on the right bank of the Umzimkulu. Here the people were very friendly, singing and clapping their hands as they came forward to see the strangers, and bringing food to sell for little pieces of iron. It was the first they had been able to purchase since they set out on their journey twenty-two days before. Here was found a young man from Bengal who had been left behind by Manuel de Sousa's party, but as he could not speak Portuguese he was of little or no service. He declined to leave the connections he had formed, and when Cabral went on two Portuguese and about thirty slaves remained with him and the friendly inhabitants.

Three days march farther brought them to the Umkomanzi, which they crossed at a ford pointed out by some Kaffirs, whose friendship they requited by endeavouring to make prize of a large basket of millet. This brought on a skirmish, which ended, however, in their opponents being compelled to retire. At the Umkomanzi they were joined by a young man named Gaspar, a Moor by birth, who was left behind by Manuel de Sousa. He had acquired the language of the people among whom he had been living, but was glad of an opportunity to get away from the country, and so went on with them and made himself useful as an interpreter.

At the end of another three days they were at a place which they called the mouth of the Pescaria, and which, from the description given, was in all probability the inlet on which the present city of Durban is situated. They were not the first white men, however, that saw it, for Manuel de Sousa had passed round its shores, and of his party a Portuguese named Rodrigo Tristão, a young man from Malabar, and two slaves were then living there. The inhabitants were very friendly, and brought such a quantity of provisions, including goats, to sell for iron, that they

easily supplied themselves with as much as they could consume and carry away. Rodrigo Tristão went on with them, but the Indian and the slaves preferred to remain where they were.

They were six days marching to the Tugela, which they termed the Saint Lucia, stopping on the journey only to purchase a cow and to take the needful rest, though they suffered greatly from thirst. The river was crossed on rafts, but the captain Fernão Alvares Cabral and another white man were overturned in the current and lost their lives. Francisco Pires, the boatswain, was then chosen to lead the party, and after resting a day they moved on.

South of the Tugela they had suffered much from hunger, thirst, and fatigue, but they had managed to move forward about thirteen kilometres a day in a direct line, perhaps actually walking twenty-two or twenty-three. They were now entering a district much more difficult to travel in, owing to the swamps and sheets of shallow water that abounded in it, the want of shellfish on the sandy coast, and the poverty of the inhabitants, most of whom were hostile. Their iron for barter was nearly exhausted, and only on a very few occasions were they able to purchase a little food. One day's hardships resembled those of the next: struggling through marshes, fainting with hunger, skirmishing with Bantu, their number decreased rapidly. To such a condition were they reduced that some of them cooked and ate human flesh. At length, on the 7th of July fifty-six Portuguese and six slaves, reduced almost to skeletons and covered with rags, reached the kraal of the Inyaka, Garcia de Sá, on the south-eastern shore of Delagoa Bay.

Here they were at first well received, but from the avidity with which the Portuguese ivory traders the year before had purchased the gold and jewels taken from Manuel de Sousa the chief had learned how valuable these things were, and presently he required the unfortunate men to

give him everything they had in exchange for food. When they had done this they found that there was at the time such a scanty supply of provisions in the country that the chief, with the best intentions, could not furnish sufficient to keep them alive, and thus they were little better off than before. From their faulty chart they believed the river of Lourenço Marques to be still eighteen leagues distant, but they were so destitute and exhausted that they could go no farther. Hunger, sickness, ravenous animals, and vermin had to be contended with, and to add to their distress the interpreter Gaspar, who had ingratiated himself with the chief, treated them with the utmost cruelty and scorn.

Then they scattered about in different kraals, and were everywhere treated with such indignity and suffered such misery that the living envied those who died. At last, on the 3rd of November a sail appeared in the bay, to the inexpressible joy of the few who still survived. It was the trading vessel from Mozambique, commanded by Bastião de Lemos, who received his almost expiring countrymen with every mark of kindness, and did what he could to restore them to health and vigour. From him they learned that the cause of Lourenço Marques not having visited that part of the coast during the preceding season was his having suffered shipwreck on the passage.

Four months and a half the little vessel remained in the bay, her crew trading for ivory with the different chiefs in reach of their boats. On the 20th of March 1555 with the first westerly wind of the season she sailed for Mozambique, taking with her Rodrigo Tristão, of the *São João*, and twenty Portuguese and four slaves, of the *São Bento*. Of the three hundred and twenty individuals who set out from the mouth of the Umtata, all the others had either perished or were left behind at kraals on the line of march.

A few years later Francisco Barreto, shortly after being governor-general of India, narrowly escaped shipwreck on the African coast. Upon the arrival of his successor, the viceroy

Dom Constantino de Bragança, on the 20th of January 1559 he left Goa in the ship *Aguia* to return to Portugal. Very heavy weather was encountered off the southern shore, and the ship was so disabled that it was with difficulty she could be kept afloat. Barreto then resolved to get as far back towards Mozambique as possible, to keep close to the land on the way, and to run the hulk aground in the last extremity. Fortunately, however, he was not obliged to resort to this extreme measure, for the wind was favourable and the island was reached without further disaster.

The *Aguia* was unladen and repaired at Mozambique, and on the 17th of November she set sail once more. She had not proceeded far when she again sprang a leak, and soon afterwards a westerly gale was encountered which lasted three days. The pilot, who was a veteran in the service, declared that such an occurrence at that time of the year had never been known before, and as all on board looked upon it as a warning from God not to persevere in the voyage, the ship's head was again turned towards Mozambique. Barreto now abandoned the *Aguia* and proceeded to India in a little vessel, in which he nearly perished of thirst on the passage. After some delay at Goa he embarked in the homeward bound ship *São Gião*, and without further mishap reached Lisbon in June 1561, twenty-nine months after he first set out to return to that city.

Owing to this occurrence and others of a similar nature, King Sebastião issued instructions to Manuel de Mesquita Perestrello, one of the surviving officers of the *São Bento*, to survey the African coast from Cape Correntes to the Cape of Good Hope, and ascertain if there were any harbours in which ships could winter if necessary and at all times find shelter during those gales from the westward that caused the heavy sea. For this purpose the experienced seaman left Mozambique in a small vessel on the 22nd of November 1575. No method of determining longitudes was then known, and the instrument used for ascertaining the sun's altitude at noon was so clumsy that observations made with it on

shipboard were almost always incorrect. Some of the latitudes of points on the coast given by Manuel de Mesquita are more than eighty kilometres from their true position, and in his report, which was intended to be a guide for navigators, he lays down as a rule that the topography of the different places visited must alone be depended upon.

His survey therefore was nothing more than an inspection from the deck of his vessel of the shore from about the Kowie river westward, but soundings were taken, the compass bearings of the points of the bays from the anchorages within them were ascertained, and sketches—some of them almost grotesque—of the scenery at each one were made. Distances were laid down merely by guess. As far as the coast between the Bird islands and Delagoa Bay was concerned he depended upon his overland journey twenty-one years before, and as he mistook the Umtata for the river now known as the Fish, his observations upon that part of the seaboard were most inaccurate. Thus he estimated the mouth of the Umzimvubu—by him called the São Christovão—as only about forty-five kilometres from that of the Fish, and in his chart also he lays it down in that position. Here he actually made an error of fully two hundred and fifty-eight kilometres.

The best shelter along the whole coast, according to him, was to be found within the curve of the land at the mouth of the Breede river, to which as a compliment to the king he gave the name Saint Sebastian's Bay. There, he reported, a vessel would be protected from all winds except those from east-north-east to south-east. An east wind was blowing when he was there, to which he attributed the heavy surf on the bar at the mouth of the Breede river, but he thought that during the westerly monsoon the passage would be smooth, and then a whole fleet might enter the inner harbour and be perfectly landlocked. The place abounded with fish, and plenty of fresh water was to be had.

Next in importance he regarded the watering place of Saint Bras, now called Mossel Bay. He described it as

sheltered from all winds except those from north-east to south-east by east, and as having good holding ground for anchors. The islet in it he found covered with seals and penguins. Of the hermitage built there more than half a century earlier, and dedicated to Saint Bras, nothing now remained but portions of the walls a metre or thereabouts in height. On the highest point of the western cape on the 7th of January 1576 he set up a wooden cross, and attached to it a sealed tube containing a record of the event.

Fermosa Bay—now Plettenberg's Bay—and the bay which he named Saint Francis he also regarded as good ports for the purpose needed, both being sheltered from all winds excepting those from the north-east to the south, having good ground for anchoring, and plenty of fresh water within reach. Of the bay Da Lagoa — now Algoa — he thought less highly, though he was of opinion that shelter could be found near the islet of the Cross.

His latitudes and distances are so incorrect that it is impossible to state with precision the limits of his land of Natal, but he seems to have regarded the coast from about the Kei to the Umkomanzi as coming under that designation. He described it as being without ports or rivers into which large ships could enter. Of the inlet termed in modern times the bay of Natal he makes no mention whatever, though his Point Pescaria is most probably the present Bluff.

The Bay into which the rivers Maputa, Santo Espirito, and Manisa flow he was able to describe more accurately than any other on the south-eastern coast, owing to his residence on its shores in former years. The old Inyaka Garcia de Sá, who had assisted the wrecked people of the *São João* and the *São Bento*, was still alive in 1576.

Of the remaining part of the survey it is needless to state anything more than that it was in all respects so defective that it could not have been of use to vessels frequenting the coast, if there had been any such. Manuel de Mesquita's report marks the highest point of knowledge of the African shore south of Delagoa Bay acquired by the Portuguese

before they were superseded in the eastern traffic by the Dutch, but for any other purpose it is valueless. Saint Sebastian's Bay, Saint Francis Bay, and Point Delgada still retain the names which he gave to them, and it is interesting to remember that the first of these serves to connect South Africa with the young and gallant king who disappeared in battle with the Moors at El-Kasr el-Kebīr, but who, in the belief of the lower classes of the Portuguese for generations, was one day to reappear and restore his country to its former glory.*

The narrative of the wreck of the ship *Santiago* throws hardly any special light upon the condition of the Bantu, but from it some particulars concerning the trade of the Portuguese along the lower Zambesi are to be obtained. The *Santiago* sailed from Lisbon for Goa on the first of April 1585, with more than four hundred and fifty souls on board, and in the night of the 18th of August struck upon a shoal in the Mozambique channel, where she went to pieces. Five or six rafts were made, and on these and in two small boats some of the people tried to get to the African coast. One raft and the two boats succeeded in reaching the shore between the Luabo and the Kilimane mouths, the people on the other rafts were either drowned, or perished from starvation.

The commerce of the delta of the Zambesi and of the territory bordering upon it to the south was at this time to a small extent in the hands of Arab mixed breeds, who professed to be vassals of the Portuguese. The principal man

* The names on Perestrello's chart are the following: Cabo de Boa Esperança, Cabo Falso, Cabo das Agulhas, Cabo do Infante, Bahia de S. Sebastião, Cabo das Vacas, Cabo de S. Bras, Agoada de S. Bras, Cabo Talhado, Bahia de S. Caterina, Cabo das Baxas, Ponta Delgada, Bahia Fermosa, Cabo das Serras, Bahia de S. Francisco, Cabo do Arrecife, Ilha da Cruz, Bahia da Lagoa, Ilheos Chaos, Ponta do Padrão, Rio do Infante, Rio de S. Christovão, Primeira Ponta do Natal, Ponta do Meio, Ponta Derradeira, Ponta de Pescaria, Ponta de S. Lucia, Rio de S. Lucia, Rio dos Medãos do Ouro, Ponta dos Fumos, Terra dos Fumos, Bahia de Lourenço Marques, Rio do Santo Espirito, Rio do Maniça, and Rio do Ouro.

PHOTOGRAPH OF PERESTRELLO'S CHART.

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among them was one Muinha Sedaca, who was wealthy and had a large establishment. He showed much kindness to those of the wrecked people who landed near his residence, and assisted them to reach a place of safety.

The chief commerce, however, was in the hands of a Portuguese named Francisco Brochado, who had acquired great influence and power in the country. He was a man of good family, and had settled on the Zambesi thirty years before. He had two great establishments, consisting entirely of slaves, one at Kilimane, the other on the Luabo, and at each he resided during a portion of the year. His generosity to his wrecked countrymen was unbounded, and by him they were clothed and otherwise cared for until they could embark at Kilimane for Mozambique.

Francisco Brochado held the title of an office from the Portuguese government, but his power was not due to that: it was owing solely to the influence which a resolute, active, and able man had acquired over a community of barbarians. It was entirely personal. Portuguese rule existed at Kilimane, and, above the delta, at Sena, but except at those stations Bantu chiefs governed their followers, and knew nothing of foreign supremacy beyond the influence which Brochado had gained among them. He had leased from the captain at Sofala and Mozambique a monopoly of the commerce of the delta, and all the boats on the rivers — excepting a few small ones owned by the Arab mixed breeds —were in his service. The profits were commonly enormous, but the trade was fluctuating and subject to many reverses.

In January 1589 the ship *São Thomé* sailed from Cochin for Portugal. No vessel so richly laden had left the Indian seas for many years, but so widespread was corruption among the officials of all classes that she was very insufficiently furnished for the passage. Her captain was a man of little ability, named Estevão da Veiga. There were many passengers on board, among whom were Dom Paul de Lima and his lady Dona Beatrice, Bernardim de Carvalho, Gregorio Botelho and his daughter Dona Mariana,

who was proceeding to Portugal to rejoin her husband Guterre de Monroy, Dona Joanna de Mendonça, widow of Gonçalo Gomes d'Azevedo, who had her only child, a little girl not two years of age, with her, and Diogo de Couto, who had been wrecked before in the *Santiago*.

The officers were desirous of reaching the island of St. Helena before any of the other vessels which left Cochin at the same time, so they crowded on sail until the ship sprang a leak off the southern point of Madagascar. The leak was partly stopped, and the ship continued on her course until the 12th of March, when a south-westerly wind was encountered, and the water began anew to gain rapidly on the pumps. An effort was then made to reach Mozambique, pumping and baling were carried on incessantly, and the ship was lightened as much as possible, but a few days later it was seen that she could not float many hours longer.

There was a very large boat on the deck, which was now got into the water. A scramble took place, each man striving to fight his way into it, so that by the time it got clear of the ship it contained no fewer than one hundred and nine individuals. The three ladies were among the number, but the agony of the widow De Mendonça was intense, for her child was in the sinking ship, and its nurse would not give it up unless she too were rescued. This was not possible, for already the boat was so overcrowded that to lighten her twelve men were thrown out and drowned.

There was a Dominican friar, Nicolau of the Rosary by name, on board the *São Thomé*, and those in the boat shouted to him to jump overboard and swim to them, when they would pick him up, but he would not leave the ship until he had attended to the spiritual needs of those who were about to die. When that was done, he sprang into the sea, swam to the boat, and was taken in.

At ten in the morning the ship was seen to go down. Early next day, the 22nd of March, the boat reached the coast of the territory now called Tongaland, which was then occupied by the Makomata tribe. Some sailors landed, and

found a kraal not far off, where they were treated in a friendly manner. The officers now resolved to proceed along the coast to the river of Lourenço Marques, but as the wind freshened they were unable to carry out that design in the boat, which would certainly have foundered. They therefore ran her ashore, and burned her to get nails to trade with, after which they set out to march overland. They were in all ninety-eight souls, and they had five guns with ammunition, as many swords, and a little food.

On their journey they encountered many Bantu, a few hostile, but the greater number friendly, and they were able to exchange their nails for hens, goats, fish, and bruised millet, so that they did not suffer much from hunger before their arrival at the kraal of the Inyaka chief, who was son and successor of Garcia de Sá. This chief treated them as well as he could, but his resources were insufficient for the maintenance of so many persons thrown thus suddenly upon him. He therefore proposed that they should take up their abode on Elephant Island, then called Setimuro, where he would send them as much food as he could collect until the arrival of the trading vessel from Mozambique in the following year. The one of this season had sailed only a few days before.

The wrecked people fell in with this proposal, and were conducted to Elephant Island, which was uninhabited. It was on that account used as their principal station by the Portuguese ivory traders when they visited the bay. The huts which they had put up provided accommodation for the castaways, and they had left there two large boats that could be turned to account. The want of food, which the Inyaka could not supply in sufficient quantity, here after a short time became so pressing that the party resolved to attempt to push on to Sofala as their only hope of life.

On the 18th of April sixty of them set out in the two boats for the northern shore of the bay, after arranging that a few sailors should return for the others, thirty-six

in number, who were left behind. One of the boats safely reached the mouth of the Manisa, where its crew were informed that at the kraal of the chief, twelve leagues up the stream, there were some Portuguese. They therefore went up the river, and found Jeronymo Leitão, the master of the trading vessel that had left Elephant Island about a month before, with his companions. He informed them that he had put into the Limpopo, where he had been robbed of his vessel and cargo, and had then travelled overland to the kraal of Manisa, who had treated him kindly. The chief received the people of the boat in a friendly manner, and provided for their wants.

The other boat got into the surf, and was run ashore near the mouth of the Limpopo, where she was of necessity abandoned. Her crew then set out to march northward. Most of the inhabitants on the way gave them assistance, but their sufferings were so great from hunger, thirst, fatigue, and fever, that nearly half of them perished. The survivors passed through Gamba's country and Inhambane, and a little farther on found a Portuguese trader with a boat. He took them across to the island of Bazaruta, which was then occupied by Arabs of mixed blood, who treated them very well. There was also a native of Sofala living on the island, and this man procured a small vessel, in which they completed their journey to the Portuguese station, where their troubles ended.

Meantime fever attacked the Europeans at Manisa's kraal and those left on Elephant Island, so that it was some time before the latter could be taken across to their friends. Manisa was able to provide them all with food, so they did not attempt to go farther. Jeronymo Leitão, who was accustomed to deal with Bantu, had sent messengers overland to Sofala, to inform the captain there of what had occurred. That officer, on receiving the intelligence, at once sent a small pangayo laden with necessary articles, and as at that season of the year she could not sail to the river Manisa, her cargo was landed

at Inhambane and then forwarded overland by Bantu carriers. Before this assistance arrived, Dom Paul de Lima, Bernardim de Carvalho, and many other males of the party had died, but the three ladies were still living. They remained at Manisa's kraal until the change of the monsoon permitted a pangayo to be sent for them, in which they went to Mozambique, and there embarked in a ship bound to Goa.

On the 21st of January 1593 the ship *Santo Alberto* sailed from Cochin for Lisbon. She was commanded by the captain Julião de Faria Cerveira, and had as pilot a man of experience named Rodrigo Miguels. Among those on board were Dona Isabella Pereira, daughter of Francisco Pereira, an officer at Goa, and widow of Diogo de Mello Coutinho, who had been captain of Ceylon, Dona Luiza, daughter of that lady, a girl sixteen years of age, Nuno Velho Pereira, recently captain of Mozambique, and two friars. There were many other passengers, some of them gentlemen of position.

In latitude 10° S. the ship sprang a leak, and could not afterwards be freed of water. On the 21st of March the African coast was in sight, in latitude 31½° according to observations with the astrolabe, and here the leak increased greatly. The ship was lightened as much as possible, the pumps were kept constantly at work, and baling was resorted to, but the water in the hold continued to rise. In order therefore to save the lives of those on board, as there was no hope of being able to keep afloat much longer, the *Santo Alberto* was run ashore. Between nine and ten o'clock in the morning of the 24th of March she struck about three or four hundred metres from the beach. One hundred and twenty-five Portuguese, including the two ladies, and one hundred and sixty slaves got safely to land, and twenty-eight Portuguese and thirty-four slaves were drowned.

Fortunately a quantity of stores of different kinds, arms, ammunition, bales of calico, pieces of metal, beads, an astrolabe, some writing paper, and other articles were saved

from the wreck. The pilot believed the latitude of the place to be 32½° S., but that was certainly an error, because there was only one large river between it and the Umzimvubu, and if it had been correct the Bashee and the Umtata must have been crossed. The Portuguese maps were still so defective that the position of all but very prominent places upon them was uncertain. The wrecked crew of the *Santo Alberto* believed the remarkable rock now known as the Hole in the Wall, close to which they were, to be the Penedo das Fontes of Dias, and the first river beyond, which was the Umtata of our day, to be the Rio do Infante of that explorer. From this time onward until their arrival at Delagoa Bay, to which place they resolved to proceed, the pilot kept a journal, in which he noted the distances travelled, the direction, occasionally the latitude, particulars concerning barter, observations upon the inhabitants, and other matters of interest. Many Bantu words given in this journal are easily made out, and from the observations recorded the route of the party from the scene of the wreck to the shore of Delagoa Bay can be laid down nearly — if not quite—accurately on a modern map.*

The wrecked people commenced their journey from the streamlet Mpako, about sixteen kilometres west of the mouth of the Umtata. The great rock, which then, according to the journal, bore the name Tizombe, is now called Zikali. Nuno Velho Pereira, being a man of rank and experience, was elected leader, and Antonio Godinho, who had for a long time traded at stations in the Zambesi valley, took charge of the barter, on which the very lives of the travellers depended. Arrangements were made for the journey similar to those of a trading caravan. Calico, beads, and pieces of metal were done up in packs to be

* I am indebted for assistance in tracing this route to Walter Stanford, Esquire, C.M.G., recently chief magistrate of Griqualand East. This gentleman is thoroughly acquainted with the territory, which I have not had an opportunity of examining.

carried by the slaves, and the arms and provisions were borne by the Portuguese.

While these preparations were in progress, on the 27th of March a chief with sixty followers made his appearance. His name, as recorded, was Luspance. Calling out Nanhata! Nanhata! in a friendly tone, the band came forward, when the chief presented two large sheep with heavy tails like those of Ormus. Among the slaves was one who could make himself understood by Luspance, and who spoke also the language of the Bantu of Mozambique. Another slave spoke the last-named language and also Portuguese, so that through two intermediary interpreters the Europeans could make their wants known. And throughout one of the most remarkable journeys ever made in South Africa slaves of the party could always converse with the inhabitants, a circumstance which tended greatly towards the safety of them all.

Luspance is described as a man of good stature, light in colour, of a cheerful countenance, and about forty-five years of age. He and his people wore karosses of ox hide made soft by rubbing and greasing, and they had sandals on their feet. They could run with great speed. In their hands they carried sticks with jackals' tails attached to them, and the chief had as an ornament a piece of copper suspended from his left ear. They were husbandmen and graziers. Their grain was millet of the size of peppercorns, which was ground between two stones, and of which they also made beer. Their wealth consisted of cattle, whose milk was one of their ordinary articles of diet. Their huts were round and low, were covered with reed mats, and were not proof against rain. They had pots made of clay, used assagais in war and the chase, and kept dogs. They were without any form of worship, but were circumcised, as were nearly all the males south of the twenty-ninth parallel of latitude. They were very sensual, each man having as many wives as he chose. Gold and silver were esteemed by them as of little value, but for

very small pieces of iron or copper they were willing to sell oxen or sheep. Their language was a dialect of that in use by all the people of Kaffraria, and their chief, like the petty rulers in the country to the north, was termed an inkosi.

From this description it is evident that Luspance's clan was of mixed Bantu and Hottentot blood, the former, however, being greater in quantity than the latter, and that in 1593 the condition of things along the Umtata was similar to that along the Fish river two centuries later, when the incorporation of the Gonaquas in the Xosa tribe had recently taken place.

On the 3rd of April the travellers commenced their march. Luspance sold them two cows and two sheep, and went with them himself as a guide as far as the Umtata. A negro boy, one of whose legs had been broken in getting to land, was left behind with the friendly people. On the afternoon of the next day they crossed the Umtata, which they believed to be the Infante, and then Luspance bade them farewell, after directing a guide whose name is given as Inhancosa—(evidently Nyana wenkosi, *i.e.* son of the chief)—to conduct them onward.

On the 5th they obtained eight cows in barter, on the 7th they passed a field of millet, of which they purchased some, and on the 9th they reached a little kraal that was in possession of a hundred head of horned cattle and a hundred and twenty sheep of the large-tailed breed. The chief presented calabashes of milk, and sold them four cows for pieces of copper worth as many pence. A little farther on they reached a kraal under a chief named Ubabu, who was a brother of their guide. He was a man of middling stature, not very black in colour, with an open cheerful countenance. He entertained the strangers with a dance, in which about sixty men took part, the women clapping their hands and singing in time. Though Ubabu had about two hundred head of large cattle and as many sheep, he would not part with any except at prices which

the Portuguese regarded as extortionate, but he was very pleased to accept of the presents they made him.

Soon after leaving his kraal some people were seen with beads of Indian manufacture hanging from their ears, which the journalist conjectured must have been brought down from the trading station at Delagoa Bay, though it is much more likely that they were obtained from the wreck of the *São João* or the *São Bento*. Progress was slow, often little more than four or five kilometres in a day being covered, but on the 14th the caravan reached the Umzimvubu at the ford now known as the Etyeni, where the passage of the stream was safely made.

After crossing this river, the largest in Kaffraria, the tone of the journal changes. The travellers found themselves now in a more thickly populated country, and the inhabitants were blacker in colour. They had not proceeded far when a chief named Vibo, who was much more powerful than any they had seen before, and who is described as being very black and about eighty years of age, came to meet them. After that chiefs in possession of kraals of considerable size were found at intervals along their whole line of march, except when they were on the high plateau from which rises the Drakensberg. They had no difficulty in purchasing as many horned cattle, sheep, hens, gourds, and millet cakes, and as much millet and milk as they needed. For the millet cakes, probably on account of their being so different from European bread, they used the Bantu name isinkwa, which the journalist wrote sincoa. The gleeful exclamation Halala! Halala! they mistook for a form of greeting, but they were correct in believing that the word manga (properly isimanga) referred to the sea, though literally it means a wonder.

They passed over the high ground behind the present mission station Palmerton, along by the Ingele mountain, which they called Moxangala, and on the 3rd of May saw the Drakensberg to the northward and north-eastward covered with snow. This part of the country, being too

cold in the winter season to be pleasant for Bantu, they found uninhabited. Turning now towards the lowlands, on the 13th of May they crossed a beautiful river which they called the Mutangalo, the Umzimkulu of our day.

The present colony of Natal they found thickly peopled. By this time they were inured to travel, the weather was in all respects favourable, and they could usually obtain competent guides, so they made much longer stages than at first. It took them only sixteen days to go over the ground from the Umzimkulu to the Tugela—the Uchugel they termed it,—which stream they crossed on the 29th of May.

Continuing at this rapid rate, they reached Delagoa Bay on the 30th of June, having marched as they computed three hundred leagues in eighty-eight days. From the Mpako to the Espirito Santo a straight line measures only one hundred and fifty leagues, but they thought the various turns in the footpaths had doubled that distance. They had nineteen head of cattle when they reached the bay. On the journey they had been compelled to abandon nine Europeans who were worn out with sickness and fatigue, and they lost ninety-five slaves, mostly by desertion. This wonderful success was due to its being the best time of the year for travelling, to their being so strong and so well armed that no one dared to attack them, to their being provided with means to purchase food, and to their having slaves who could make themselves understood by the Bantu along the route.

At Delagoa Bay they found the trading vessel *Nossa Senhora da Salvação* nearly ready to return to Mozambique. She was not large enough to contain them all, but her mixed-breed Moslem sailors, who had their wives with them, consented for liberal payment to remain behind, and thus she was lightened of forty-five individuals. It was the custom of these people, instead of receiving wages, to be allowed to trade in millet, honey, and anything else except ivory or ambergris on their own account, and

therefore they would have little difficulty in providing for themselves on shore. From them the chief captain purchased an ample supply of millet for food on the passage. Twenty-eight Portuguese soldiers and sailors resolved to travel overland to Sofala, but only two of this party reached their destination; the others perished on the way in conflicts brought on by their own misconduct. Eighty-eight Portuguese, including the two ladies, and sixty-four slaves embarked in the trading vessel, which sailed on the 22nd of July, and reached Mozambique in safety on the 6th of August.

In all the region traversed by the crews of these wrecked ships not a single tribe is mentioned of the same name as any now existing. The people were all of the Bantu race as far south as the Umzimvubu, spoke dialects of the same language, had the same customs, but were not grouped as at present. South of the Umzimvubu there was a mixture of Bantu and Hottentot blood, but how far the former extended in this diluted form cannot be ascertained. Probably not far, as the country was very sparsely populated. It is noticeable also that the whole of the high plateau from which the Drakensberg rises was without inhabitants at least as far north as the present colony of Natal.

It would serve no useful purpose to give the names of the tribes about Delagoa Bay and farther northward, as placed on record by the Portuguese writers, for even if those names were accurate at the time, the communities that bore them have long since ceased to exist, and never did anything to merit a place in history. Along the coast south of Delagoa Bay only four tribes of importance are mentioned. The first was that of the Inyaka, occupying the island now known by that name and the territory between the Maputa river and the sea. Joining them on the south were the Makomata, under a chief called Viragune by the Portuguese, whose kraals were scattered over the country from the coast a hundred and forty kilometres inland. Then came

the Makalapapa, who lived about the St. Lucia lagoon. South of them was the tribe that had recently come down from the Zambesi, and that still retained a title which points to its far western origin, Vambe as given by the Portuguese. It must have been composed of a small number of conquerors and a large number of individuals incorporated from clans vanquished and destroyed in its southward march, in this respect resembling the Matabele of the nineteenth century. This tribe was the Abambo of Hlubi, Zizi, and other traditions, from whom Natal is still called Embo by the Bantu.

All the paramount chiefs of these tribes were termed kings by the Portuguese, and the territories in which they lived were described as kingdoms. In the same way the heads of kraals were designated nobles. Phraseology of this kind, so liable to lead readers into error, ended, however, with the so-called Vambe kingdom, as farther south there were no tribes of any importance, no chiefs with more than three or four kraals under their control, and to these a high-sounding title could not be given. The Pondo, Pondomsi, Tembu, and Xosa tribes of our day were either not yet in existence as separate communities, or were little insignificant clans too feeble to attract notice.

CHAPTER XVI.

APPEARANCE OF RIVALS IN THE EASTERN SEAS.

THE debt which the world owes to the Portuguese for weakening the Mohamedan power and thus preventing the subjugation of a larger portion of Eastern Europe than was actually overrun by the Turks should not be forgotten, but long before the close of the sixteenth century they had ceased to be participants in the great progressive movement of the Caucasian race. Upon a conquering nation rests an enormous responsibility: no smaller than that of benefiting the world at large. Was Portugal doing this in her eastern possessions to such an extent as to make her displacement there a matter deserving universal regret? Probably her own people would reply that she was, for every nation regards its own acts as better than those of others; but beyond her borders the answer unquestionably would be that she was not. Rapacity, cruelty, corruption, have all been laid to her charge at this period, and not without sufficient reason. But apart from these vices, her weakness under the Castilian kings was such that she was incapable of doing any good. When an individual is too infirm and decrepit to manage his affairs, a robust man takes his place, and so it is with States. The weak one may cry out that might is not right, but such a cry finds a very feeble echo. India was not held by the Portuguese under the only indefeasible tenure: that of making the best use of it; and thus it could be seized by a stronger power without Christian nations feeling that a wrong was being done.

Before recounting in brief the commencement of the Dutch conquests, a glance may be given to the acts of other

nations, and especially to those of our own countrymen, in the eastern seas at an earlier date.

The French were the first to follow the Portuguese round the Cape of Good Hope to India. As early as 1507 a corsair of that nation, named Mondragon, made his appearance in the Mozambique channel* with two armed vessels, and plundered a ship under command of Job Queimado. He also captured and robbed another Indiaman nearer home. On the 18th of January 1509 a fleet commanded by Duarte Pacheco fell in with him off Cape Finisterre, and after a warm engagement sank one of his ships and captured the other. Mondragon was taken a prisoner to Lisbon, where he found means of making his peace with the king, and he was then permitted to return to France.

Twenty years later three ships, fitted out by a merchant named Jean Ango, sailed from Dieppe for India. The accounts of this expedition are so conflicting that it is impossible to relate the occurrences attending it with absolute accuracy. It is certain, however, that one of the ships never reached her destination. Another was wrecked on the coast of Sumatra, where her crew were all murdered. The third reached Diu in July 1527. She had a crew of forty Frenchmen, but was commanded by a Portuguese named Estevão Dias, nicknamed Brigas, who had fled from his native country on account of misdeeds committed there, and had taken service with the strangers. The ruler of Diu regarded this ship with great hostility, and as he was unable to seize her openly, he practised deceit to get her crew within his power. Professing friendship, he gave Dias permission to trade in his territory, but took advantage of the first opportunity to arrest him and his crew. They were handed over as captives to the paramount Mohamedan ruler, and were obliged to embrace his creed to preserve their

* The particulars of this event cannot be ascertained, and it would even be doubtful whether Mondragon really rounded the Cape of Good Hope if it were not expressly stated in a summary of the directions issued by the king for his capture, that it took place "no canal de Moçambique."

lives. They were then taken into his service and remained in India.

Early in 1529 two ships commanded by Jean and Raoul Parmentier, fitted out partly by Jean Ango, partly by merchants of Rouen, sailed from Dieppe. In October of the same year they reached Sumatra, but on account of great loss of life from sickness, on the 22nd of January 1530 they turned homeward. As they avoided the Portuguese settlements, nothing was known at Goa of their proceedings except what was told by a sailor who was left behind at Madagascar and was afterwards found there. This expedition was almost as unsuccessful as the preceding one. On their return passage the ships were greatly damaged in violent storms, and they reached Europe with difficulty.

From that time until 1601 there is no trace of a French vessel having passed the Cape of Good Hope. In May of this year the *Corbin* and *Croissant*, two ships fitted out by some merchants of Laval and Vitré, sailed from St. Malo. They reached the Maldives safely, but there the *Corbin* was lost in July 1602, and her commander was unable to return to France until ten years had gone by. The *Croissant* was lost on the Spanish coast on her homeward passage.

On the 1st of June 1604 a French East India Company was established on paper, but it did not get further. In 1615 it was reorganised, and in 1617 the first successful expedition to India under the French flag sailed from a port in Normandy. From that date onward ships of this nation were frequently seen in the eastern seas. But the French made no attempt to form a settlement in South Africa, and their only connection with this country was that towards the middle of the seventeenth century a vessel was sent occasionally from Rochelle to collect a cargo of sealskins and oil at the islands in and near the present Saldanha Bay.

The English were the next to appear in Indian waters. A few individuals of this nation may have served in Portuguese ships, and among the missionaries, especially of the

Company of Jesus, who went out to convert the heathen, it is not unlikely that there were several. One at least, Thomas Stephens by name, was rector of the Jesuit college at Salsette. A letter written by him from Goa in 1579, and printed in the second volume of Hakluyt's work, is the earliest account extant of an English voyager to that part of the world.* It contains no information of importance.

The famous sea captain Francis Drake, of Tavistock in Devon, sailed from Plymouth on the 13th of December 1577, with the intention of exploring the Pacific ocean. His fleet consisted of five vessels, carrying in all one hundred and sixty-four men. His own ship, named the *Pelican*, was of one hundred and twenty tons burden. The others were the *Elizabeth*, eighty tons, the *Marigold*, thirty tons, a pinnace of twelve tons, and a storeship of fifty tons burden. The last named was set on fire as soon as her cargo was transferred to the others, the pinnace was abandoned, the *Marigold* was lost in a storm, the *Elizabeth*, after reaching the Pacific, turned back through the straits of Magellan, and the *Pelican* alone continued the voyage. She was the first English ship that sailed round the world. Captain Drake reached England again on the 3rd of November 1580, and soon afterwards was made a knight by Queen Elizabeth on board his ship. The *Pelican* did not touch at any part of the

* I do not mention Sir John Mandeville in the text, because modern criticism has proved that what he states concerning India in his book *The Voiage and travayle of syr Iohn Maundevile, knight, which treateth of the way toward Hierusalem, and of marvayles of Inde, with other Ilands and Countryes* was compiled from earlier foreign writers, though his work was regarded as genuine and trustworthy by Englishmen until recently. Nothing is known of him from contemporary records, and it is even regarded as possible that Mandeville was a pseudonym. In his book he states that he was born at St. Albans, and travelled in the east as far as China between the years 1322 and 1357. It is now believed that he really visited Palestine, and his account of that country is considered as partly based on personal observation, but the remainder of the volume is spurious. The original was written in French. See the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, article Mandeville. Of the numerous copies of the book, in many languages, in the library of the British Museum, the earliest was printed in 1480.

South African coast, but there is the following paragraph in the account of the voyage:—

"We ran hard aboard the Cape, finding the report of the Portuguese to be most false, who affirm that it is the most dangerous cape of the world, never without intolerable storms and present danger to travellers who come near the same. This cape is a most stately thing, and the fairest cape we saw in the whole circumference of the earth, and we passed by it on the 18th of June."

In 1583 four English traders in precious stones, acting partly on their own account and partly as agents for merchants in London, made their way by the Tigris and the Persian gulf to Ormuz, where at that time people of various nationalities were engaged in commerce. John Newbery, the leader of the party, had been there before. The others were named Ralph Fitch, William Leades, and James Story. Shortly after their arrival at Ormuz they were arrested by the Portuguese authorities on the double charge of being heretics and spies of the prior Dom Antonio, who was a claimant to the throne of Portugal, and under these pretences they were sent prisoners to Goa. There they managed to clear themselves of the first of the charges, Story entered a convent, and the others, on finding bail not to leave the city, were set at liberty in December 1584, mainly through the instrumentality of the Jesuit father Stephens and Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, of whom more will be related in the following pages. Four months afterwards, being in fear of ill-treatment, they managed to make their escape from Goa. After a time they separated, and Fitch went on a tour through India, visiting many places before his return to England in 1591. An account of his travels is extant in Hakluyt's collection, but there is not much information in it, and it had no effect upon subsequent events.

Thomas Candish sailed from Plymouth on the 21st of July 1586, with three ships—the *Desire*, of one hundred and twenty tons, the *Content*, of sixty tons, and the *Hugh Gallant*, of forty tons—carrying in all one hundred and twenty-three

souls. After sailing round the globe, he arrived again in Plymouth on the 9th of September 1588, having passed the Cape of Good Hope on the 16th of May.

The first English ships that put into a harbour on the South African coast were the *Penelope*, *Merchant Royal*, and *Edward Bonaventure*, which sailed from Plymouth for India on the 10th of April 1591, under command of Admiral George Raymond. This fleet put into the watering place of Saldanha at the end of July. The crews, who were suffering from scurvy, were at once sent on shore, where they obtained fresh food by shooting wild fowl and gathering mussels and other shell-fish along the rocky beach. Some inhabitants had been seen when the ships sailed in, but they appeared terrified, and at once moved inland. Admiral Raymond visited Robben Island, where he found seals and penguins in great numbers. One day some hunters caught a Hottentot, whom they treated kindly, making him many presents and endeavouring to show him by signs that they were in want of cattle. They then let him go, and eight days afterwards he returned with thirty or forty others, bringing forty oxen and as many sheep. Trade was at once commenced, the price of an ox being two knives, that of a sheep one knife. So many men had died of scurvy that it was considered advisable to send the *Merchant Royal* back to England weak handed. The *Penelope*, with one hundred and one men, and the *Edward Bonaventure*, with ninety-seven men, sailed for India on the 8th of September. On the 12th a gale was encountered, and that night those in the *Edward Bonaventure*, whereof was captain James Lancaster—who was afterwards famous as an advocate of Arctic exploration, and whose name was given by Bylot and Baffin to the sound which terminated their discoveries in 1616—saw a great sea break over the admiral's ship, which put out her lights. After that she was never seen or heard of again.

The appearance of these rivals in the Indian seas caused much concern in Spain and Portugal. There was as yet no apprehension of the loss of the sources of the spice trade,

but it was regarded as probable that English ships would lie in wait at St. Helena for richly laden vessels homeward bound, so in 1591 and again in 1593 the king directed the viceroy to instruct the captains not to touch at that island.

It was not by Englishmen, however, though they visited India at this early period, but by the Dutch, that the Portuguese power in the East was overthrown. That power was like a great bubble, but it required pricking to make it burst, and our countrymen did not often come in contact with it. Sir Francis Drake indeed, who was utterly fearless, went wherever he chose, and opened fire upon all who attempted to interfere with him, but his successors, whose object was profit in trade, were naturally more cautious. The Indies were large, and so they avoided the Portuguese fortresses, and did what business they could with native rulers and people.

The merchants of the Netherlands had been accustomed to obtain at Lisbon the supplies of Indian products which they required for home consumption and for the large European trade which they carried on, but after 1580, when Portugal came under the dominion of Philippe II of Spain, they were shut out of that market. They then determined to open up direct communication with the East, and for that purpose made several gallant but fruitless efforts to find a passage along the northern shores of Europe and Asia. When the first of these had failed, and while the result of the second was still unknown, some merchants of Amsterdam fitted out a fleet of four vessels, which in the year 1595 sailed to India by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Before this date, however, a few Netherlanders had visited the eastern seas in the Portuguese service, and among them was one in particular whose writings had great influence at that period and for more than half a century afterwards.

Jan Huyghen van Linschoten was born at Haarlem, in the province of Holland. He received a good general education, but from an early age he gave himself up with

ardour to the special study of geography and history, and eagerly read such books of travel as were within his reach. In 1579 he obtained permission from his parents, who were then residing at Enkhuizen, to proceed to Seville, where his two elder brothers were pushing their fortunes. He was at Seville when the cardinal king Henrique of Portugal died, leaving the succession to the throne in dispute. The duke of Alva with a strong Spanish army won it for his master, and shortly afterwards Linschoten removed to Lisbon, where he was a clerk in a merchant's office when Philippe made his triumphal entry and when Alva died.

Two years later he entered the service of a Dominican friar, by name Vicente da Fonseca, who had been appointed by Philippe primate of India, the see of Goa having been raised to an archbishopric in 1557. In April 1583, with his employer he sailed from Lisbon, and after touching at Mozambique—where he remained from the 5th to the 20th of August, diligently seeking information on that part of the world — he arrived at Goa in September of the same year. He remained in India until January 1589. When returning to Europe in the ship *Santa Cruz* from Cochin, he passed through a quantity of wreckage from the ill-fated *São Thomé,* which had sailed from the same port five days before he left, and he visited several islands in the Atlantic, at one of which — Terceira — he was detained a long time. He reached Lisbon again in January 1592, and eight months later rejoined his family at Enkhuizen, after an absence of nearly thirteen years. From this date his name is inseparably connected with those of the gallant spirits who braved the perils of the polar seas in the effort to find a north-eastern passage to China.

Early in 1595 the first of Linschoten's books was published, in which an account is given of the sailing directions followed by the Portuguese in their navigation of the eastern waters, drawn from the treatises of their most experienced pilots. This work shows the highest

knowledge of navigation that Europeans had then acquired. They had still no better instrument for determining latitudes than the astrolabe and the cross staff, and no means whatever for ascertaining longitudes. The vicinity of the Cape of Good Hope was known by the appearance of sea-birds called Cape pigeons and the great drifting plants that are yet to be seen any day on the shores of the Cape peninsula. The different kinds of ground that adhered to the tallow of the sounding leads to some extent indicated the position, as did also the variation of the magnetic needle, but whether a ship was fifty or a hundred nautical miles from any given point could not be ascertained by either of these means. When close to the shore, however, the position was known by the appearance of the land, the form of the hills and mountains, and the patches of sand and thicket, all of which had been carefully delineated and laid down in the sailing directions.

Linschoten's first book was followed in 1596 by a description of the Indies, and by several geographical treatises drawn from Portuguese sources, all profusely illustrated with maps and plates. Of Mozambique an ample account was given from personal observation and inquiry. Dom Pedro de Castro had just been succeeded as captain by Nuno Velho Pereira, who informed the archbishop that in his three years term of office he would realise a fortune of about nine tons of gold, or £75,000 sterling, derived chiefly from the trade in the precious metal carried on at Sofala and in the territory of the monomotapa. Fort São Sebastião had then no other garrison than the servants and attendants of the captain, in addition to whom there were only forty or at most fifty Portuguese and half-breed male residents on the island capable of assisting in its defence. There were three or four hundred huts occupied by negroes, some of whom were professed Christians, others Mohamedans, and still others heathens. The exports to India were gold, ivory, ambergris, ebony, and slaves. African slaves, being much stronger in body than the natives of Hindostan, were used to perform

the hardest and coarsest work in the eastern possessions of Portugal, and—though Linschoten does not state this—they were employed in considerable numbers in the trading ships to relieve the European seamen from the heavy labour of pumping, hauling, stowing and unstowing cargo, cleansing, and so forth. These slaves were chiefly procured from the lands to the northward, and very few, if any of them, were obtained in the country south of the Zambesi.

It serves to show how carefully and minutely Linschoten elicited information at Mozambique, that he mentions a harbour on the coast which is not named by any of the Portuguese writers of the time except Dos Santos, whose book was not then published, and who only refers to it incidentally, though it is now known to be the best port between Inhambane and the Zambesi. This is Beira, as at present termed, then known to the sailors of the pangayos that traded to the southward as Porto Bango. Linschoten gives its latitude as 19½°, half a degree north of Sofala. He mentions also Delagoa Bay, that is the present Algoa Bay, and gives its latitude as 33½°. He describes the monsoons of the Indian ocean, and states that ships from Portugal availed themselves of these periodical winds by waiting at Mozambique until the 1st of August, and never leaving after the middle of September, thus securing a safe and easy passage to the coast of Hindostan.

He frequently refers to the gold of Sofala and the country of the monomotapa, of which he had heard just such reports as Vasco da Gama had eagerly listened to eighty-six years before. Yet he did not magnify the importance of these rumours as the Portuguese had done, though it was mainly from his writings that his countrymen became possessed of that spirit of cupidity which induced them a few years later to make strenuous efforts to become masters of South-Eastern Africa.

Linschoten's treatises were collected and published in a single large volume, and the work was at once received as a text-book, a position which its merits entitled it to occupy.

The most defective portion of the whole is that referring to South Africa: and for this reason, that it was then impossible to get any correct information about the interior of the continent below the Zambesi west of the part frequented by the Portuguese. Linschoten himself saw no more of it than a fleeting glimpse of False Cape afforded on his outward passage, and his description was of necessity based upon the faulty maps of the geographers of his time, so that it was full of errors. But his account of India and of the way to reach its several ports was so correct that it could serve the purpose of a guide-book, and his treatise on the mode of navigation by the Portuguese was thus used by the commander of the first Dutch fleet that appeared in the eastern seas.

The four vessels which left Texel on the 2nd of April 1595 were under the general direction of an officer named Cornelis Houtman. In the afternoon of the 2nd of August the Cape of Good Hope was seen, and next day, after passing Agulhas, the fleet kept close to the land, the little *Duifke* sailing in front and looking for a harbour. On the 4th the bay called by the Portuguese Aguada de São Bras was discovered, and as the *Duifke* found good holding ground in nine or ten fathoms of water, the *Mauritius*, *Hollandia*, and *Amsterdam* entered and dropped their anchors.

Here the fleet remained until the 11th, when sail was again set for the East. During the interval a supply of fresh water was taken in, and some oxen and sheep were purchased from the inhabitants for knives, old tools, and pieces of iron. The Europeans were surprised to find the sheep covered with hair instead of wool, and with enormous tails of pure fat. No women or habitations were seen. The appearance of the Hottentots, their clothing, their assagais, their method of making a fire by twirling a piece of wood rapidly round in the socket of another piece, their filthiness in eating, and the clicking of their language, are all correctly described; but it was surmised that they were cannibals, because they were

observed to eat the half-raw intestines of animals, and a fable commonly believed in Europe was repeated concerning their mutilation in a peculiar manner of the bodies of conquered enemies. The intercourse with the few Hottentots seen was friendly, though at times each suspected the other of evil intentions.

A chart of the inlet was made,* from which it is seen to be the one now called Mossel Bay. A little island in it was covered with seals and penguins, some of each of which were killed and eaten. The variation of the compass was observed to be so trifling that the needle might be said to point to the north.

From the watering place of São Bras Houtman continued his voyage to India, but it is not necessary to relate occurrences there. After his return to Europe several companies were formed in different towns of the Netherlands, with the object of trading to the East and wresting from the Portuguese that wealth which they were then too feeble to guard.

In the *Leeuw*, one of the ships sent out in 1598, and which put into the watering place of Saldanha for refreshment, the famous English seaman John Davis was chief pilot. He wrote an account of the voyage, in which he states that the Hottentots in Table Valley fell by surprise upon the men who were ashore bartering cattle, and killed thirteen of them. In his narrative Davis says that at Cape Agulhas the magnetic needle was without variation, but in his sailing directions, written after another voyage to India, he says: "At False Cape there is no variation that I can find by observing south from it. The variation of Cape Agulhas is thirty minutes from north to west. And at the Cape of Good Hope the compass is varied from north to east five and twenty minutes."

* It is attached to the original journals, now in the archives of the Netherlands. I made a copy of it on tracing linen for the Cape government, as it differs considerably from the chart in the printed condensed journal of the voyage. In other respects also the compilation of the printed journal has been very carelessly executed.

No fresh discoveries on the African coast were made by any of the fleets sent out at this time, but to some of the bays new names were given.

In December 1599 four ships fitted out by an association at Amsterdam calling itself the New Brabant Company sailed from Texel for the Indies, under command of Pieter Both. Two of them returned early in 1601, leaving the *Vereenigde Landen* and the *Hof van Holland* under charge of Paulus van Caerden to follow as soon as they could obtain cargoes. On the 8th of July 1601 Van Caerden put into the watering place of São Bras on the South African coast, for the purpose of repairing one of his ships which was in a leaky condition. The commander, with twenty soldiers, went a short distance inland to endeavour to find people from whom he could obtain some cattle, but though he came across a party of eight individuals he did not succeed in getting any oxen or sheep. A supply of fresh water was taken in, but no refreshment except mussels could be procured, on account of which Van Caerden gave the inlet the name Mossel Bay, which it has ever since retained.

On the 14th the *Hof van Holland* having been repaired, the two ships sailed, but two days later, as they were making no progress against a head wind, they put into another bay. Here some Hottentots were found, from whom the voyagers obtained for pieces of iron as many horned cattle and sheep as they could consume fresh or had salt to preserve. For this reason the commander gave it the name Flesh Bay.

On the 21st sail was set, but the *Hof van Holland* being found leaky again, on the 23rd another bay was entered, where her damages were repaired. On account of a westerly gale the ships were detained here until the 30th, when they sailed, but finding the wind contrary outside, they returned to anchor. No inhabitants were seen, but the commander visited a river near by, where he encountered a party from whom he obtained five sheep in exchange for bits of iron. In the river were numerous hippopotami.

Abundance of fine fish having been secured here, the commander gave the inlet the name Fish Bay.

On the 2nd of August the ships sailed, and on the 27th passed the Cape of Good Hope, to the great joy of all on board, who had begun to fear that they would be obliged to seek a port on the eastern side to winter in.

On the 5th of May 1601 a fleet of three vessels, named the *Ram*, the *Schaap*, and the *Lam*, sailed for the Indies from Vere in Zeeland, under command of Joris van Spilbergen. On the 15th of November the fleet put into St. Helena Bay, where no inhabitants were seen, though many fires were observed inland. The only refreshment procurable was fish, which were caught in great quantities.

On the 20th Spilbergen sailed from St. Helena Bay, and beating against a head wind, on the evening of the 28th he anchored off an island, to which he gave the name Elizabeth. Four years later Sir Edward Michelburne termed it Cony Island, which name, under the Dutch form of Dassen, it still bears. Seals in great numbers, sea-birds of different kinds, and conies were found. At this place he remained only twenty-four hours. On the 2nd of December he cast anchor close to another island, which he named Cornelia. It was the Robben island of the present day. Here were found seals and penguins in great numbers, but no conies. The next day at noon Spilbergen reached the watering place of Saldanha, the anchorage in front of Table Mountain, and gave it the name Table Bay, which it still bears.

The sick were conveyed to land, where a hospital was established. A few inhabitants were met, to whom presents of beads were made, and who were understood to make signs that they would bring cattle for sale, but they went away and did not return. Abundance of fish was obtained with a seine at the mouth of a stream which Spilbergen named the Jacqueline, now Salt River; but, as meat was wanted, the smallest of the vessels was sent to Elizabeth Island, where a great number of penguins and conies were killed and salted in. The fleet remained in Table Bay until the 23rd of

December. When passing Cornelia Island, a couple of conies were set on shore, and seven or eight sheep, which had been left there by some previous voyagers, were shot, and their carcases taken on board. Off the Cape of Good Hope the two French ships of which mention has been made were seen.

Spilbergen kept along the coast, noticing the formation of the land and the numerous streams falling into the sea, but was sorely hindered in his progress by the Agulhas current, which he found setting so strong to the south-westward that at times he could make no way against it even with the breeze in his favour. On the 17th of January 1602, owing to this cause, he stood off from the coast, and did not see it again.

The fleets sent out by the different small companies which had been formed in the chief towns of the Free Netherlands gained surprising successes over the Portuguese in India, but as they did not work in concert no permanent conquests could be made. For this reason, as well as to prevent rivalry and to conduct the Indian trade in a manner the most beneficial to the people of the whole republic, the states-general resolved to unite all the small trading associations in one great company with many privileges and large powers. The charter, or terms upon which the Company came into existence, was dated at the Hague on the 20th of March 1602, and contained forty-six clauses, the principal of which were as follow:—

All of the inhabitants of the United Netherlands had the right given to them to subscribe to the capital in as small or as large sums as they might choose, with this proviso, that if more money should be tendered than was needed, those applying for shares of over two thousand five hundred pounds sterling should receive less, so that the applicants for smaller shares might have allotted to them the full amounts asked for.

The chambers, or offices for the transaction of business, were to participate in the following proportion: that of

Amsterdam one-half, that of Middelburg in Zeeland one quarter, those of Delft and Rotterdam, otherwise called of the Maas, together one-eighth, and those of Hoorn and Enkhuizen, otherwise called those of the North Quarter or sometimes those of North Holland and West Friesland, together the remaining eighth.

The general directory was to consist of seventeen persons, eight of whom were to represent the chamber of Amsterdam, four that of Middelburg, two those of the Maas, two those of the North Quarter, and the seventeenth was to be chosen alternately by all of these except the chamber of Amsterdam. The place of meeting of the general directory was fixed at Amsterdam for six successive years, then at Middelburg for two years, then at Amsterdam again for six years, and so on.

The directors of each chamber were named in the charter, being the individuals who were the directors of the companies previously established in those towns, and it was provided that no others should be appointed until these should be reduced by death or resignation: in the chamber of Amsterdam to twenty persons, in that of Zeeland to twelve, and in those of Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn, and Enkhuizen each to seven. After that, whenever a vacancy should occur, the remaining directors were to nominate three qualified individuals, of whom the states of the province in which the chamber was situated were to select one.

To qualify an individual to be a director in the chambers of the North Quarter it was necessary to own shares to the value of £250 sterling, and double that amount to be a director in any of the other chambers. The directors were to be bound by oath to be faithful in the administration of the duties entrusted to them, and not to favour a majority of the shareholders at the expense of a minority. Directors were prohibited from selling anything whatever to the Company without previously obtaining the sanction of the states provincial or the authorities of the city in which the chamber that they represented was situated.

All inhabitants of the United Provinces other than this Company were prohibited from trading beyond the Straits of Magellan, or to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, during the period of twenty-one years, for which the charter was granted, under penalty of forfeiture of ship and cargo. Within these limits the East India Company was empowered to enter into treaties and make contracts in the name of the states-general, to build fortresses, to appoint governors, military commanders, judges, and other necessary officers, who were all, however, to take oaths of fidelity to the states-general or high authorities of the Netherlands, who were not to be prevented from making complaints to the states-general, and whose appointments were to be reported to the states-general for confirmation.

For these privileges the Company was to pay £12,500 sterling, which amount the states-general subscribed towards the capital, for the profit and at the risk of the general government of the provinces. The capital was nominally furnished in the following proportions: Amsterdam one-half, Zeeland one-fourth, the Maas one-eighth, and the North Quarter one-eighth; but in reality it was contributed as under:—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Amsterdam	307,202	10	0
Zeeland	106,304	10	0
The Maas { Delft	38,880	3	4
The Maas { Rotterdam	14,546	16	8
The North Quarter { Hoorn	22,369	3	4
The North Quarter { Enkhuizen ...	47,380	3	4
Total working capital	536,683	6	8
The share of the states-general	12,500	0	0
Total nominal capital	549,183	6	8

The capital was divided into shares of £250 sterling each. The shares, often sub-divided into fractions, were negotiable like any other property, and rose or fell in value according to the position of the Company at any time.

The advantage which the State derived from the establishment of this great association was apparent. The sums received in payment of import dues would have been contributed to an equal extent by individual traders. The amounts paid for the renewal of the charter—in 1647 the Company paid £133,333 6*s.* 8*d.* for its renewal for twenty-five years, and still larger sums were paid subsequently—might have been derived from trading licenses. The Company frequently aided the Republic with loans of large amount when the State was in temporary need, but loans could then have been raised in the modern method whenever necessary. Apart from these services, however, there was one supreme advantage gained by the creation of the East India Company which could not have been obtained from individual traders. A powerful navy was called into existence, great armed fleets working in unison and subject to the same control were always ready to assist the State. What must otherwise have been an element of weakness, a vast number of merchant ships scattered over the ocean and ready to fall a prey to an enemy's cruisers, was turned into a bulwark of strength.

In course of time several modifications took place in the constitution of the Company, and the different provinces as well as various cities were granted the privilege of having representatives in one or other of the chambers. Thus the provinces Gelderland, Utrecht, and Friesland, and the cities Dordrecht, Haarlem, Leiden, and Gouda had each a representative in the chamber of Amsterdam; Groningen had a representative in the chamber of Zeeland; Overyssel one in the chamber of Delft, &c. The object of this was to make the Company represent the whole Republic.

Notwithstanding such regulations, however, the city of Amsterdam soon came to exercise an immoderate influence in the direction. In 1672 it was estimated that shares equal to three-fourths of the whole capital were owned there, and of the twenty-five directors of the local chamber, eighteen were chosen by the burgomasters of the city. Fortunately, the

charter secured to the other chambers a stated proportion of patronage and trade.

Such was the constitution of the Company which set itself the task of destroying the Portuguese power in the East and securing for itself the lucrative spice trade. It had no difficulty in obtaining as many men as were needed, for the German states—not then as now united in one great empire—formed an almost inexhaustible reservoir to draw soldiers from, and the Dutch fisheries, together with Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, furnished an adequate supply of excellent seamen. It sent out strong and well-armed fleets, capable of meeting any force the enemy had to oppose them, and of driving him from the open seas. The first of these fleets consisted of three large ships, commanded by Sebald de Weert, which sailed on the 31st of March 1602, and it was followed on the 17th of June of the same year by eleven large ships and a yacht, under command of Wybrand van Waerwyk.

The Company soon wrested from the Portuguese their choicest possessions in the East, besides acquiring other valuable territory from native owners. Its dividends to the shareholders were enormous, owing largely to the spoil captured by its fleets. In one year they rose to seventy-five per cent of the paid-up capital, and for upwards of a century they averaged above twenty per cent.

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CHAPTER XVII.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE DUTCH AND ENGLISH.

THOUGH the Dutch were soon in almost undisputed possession of the valuable Spice islands, they were never able to eject the Portuguese from the comparatively worthless coast of South-Eastern Africa. That coast would only have been an encumbrance to them, if they had secured it, for its commerce was never worth much more than the cost of its maintenance until the highlands of the interior were occupied by Europeans, and the terrible mortality caused by its malaria would have been a serious misfortune to them. It was out of their ocean highway too, for they steered across south of Madagascar, instead of keeping along the African shore. But they were drawn on by rumours of the gold which was to be had, and so they resolved to make themselves masters of Mozambique, and with that island of all the Portuguese possessions subordinate to it. In Lisbon their intentions were suspected, and in January 1601 the king issued instructions that Dom Alvaro d'Abranches, Nuno da Cunha's successor as captain of Mozambique, was on no account to absent himself from the island, as it might at any time be attacked by either the Turks or the Dutch.

On the 18th of December 1603 Steven van der Hagen left Holland for India with a strong armed fleet, consisting of the *Vereenigde Provincien, Amsterdam, Dordrecht, Hoorn*, and *West Friesland*, each of three hundred and fifty tons burden, the *Gelderland* and *Zeelandia*, each of two hundred and fifty tons, the *Hof van Holland*, of one hundred and eighty tons, the *Delft* and *Enkhuizen*, each of one hundred and

fifty tons, the *Medenblik*, of one hundred and twenty-five tons, and a despatch boat named the *Duifken*, of thirty tons burden. In those days such a fleet was regarded as, and actually was, a very formidable force, for though there were no ships in it of the size of the great galleons of Spain and Portugal, each one was much less unwieldy, and had its artillery better placed. There were twelve hundred men on board, and the equipment cost no less than £184,947 6*s.* 8*d.*

Van der Hagen arrived before Mozambique on the 17th of June 1604. Fort São Sebastião had not at the time its ordinary garrison of one hundred soldiers, owing to a disaster that had recently occurred. A great horde of barbarians, called the Cabires by the Portuguese, had entered the territory of the monomotapa, and were laying it waste, so the captain Lourenço de Brito went to the assistance of the Kalanga chief, but was defeated and lost ten or twelve Portuguese and part of his stores. Sebastião de Macedo was then in command at Mozambique. He sent a vessel with fifty soldiers to De Brito's assistance, but on the passage she was lost with all on board. None had yet arrived to replace them, but the resident inhabitants of the island had retired to the fort with everything of value that they could remove, so Van der Hagen considered it too strong to be attacked and therefore proceeded to blockade it. There was a carrack at anchor, waiting for some others from Lisbon to sail in company to Goa. The boats of the Dutch fleet cut her out, in spite of the heavy fire of the fort upon them. She had on board a quantity of ivory collected at Sofala and other places on the East African coast, but nothing else of much value.

On the 30th of June a small vessel from one of the factories, laden with rice and ivory, came running up to the island, and was too near to escape when she discovered her danger. She was turned into a tender, and named the *Mozambique*. Then, for five weeks, the blockade continued, without any noteworthy incident. On the 5th of August five pangayos arrived, laden with rice and millet, and were of

course seized. Three days later Van der Hagen landed on the island with one hundred and fifty men, but found no sign of hunger, and saw that the prospect of the surrender of the fort was remote. He did no other damage than setting fire to a single house, and as night drew on he returned on board.

He was now anxious to proceed to India, so on the 12th of August he set fire to the captured carrack, and sailed, leaving the *Delft*, *Enkhuizen*, and *Duifken*, to wait for the ships expected from Lisbon. These vessels rejoined him, but without having made any prizes, before he attacked the Portuguese at Amboina and Tidor, and got possession of the Spice islands. In this manner the first siege of Mozambique was conducted, and failed.

The next attempt was in 1607. On the 29th of March of that year a Dutch fleet of eight large ships—the *Banda*, *Bantam*, *Ceylon*, *Walcheren*, *Ter Veere*, *Zierikzee*, *China*, and *Patane*,—carrying one thousand and sixty men, commanded by Paulus van Caerden, appeared before the island. The Portuguese historian of this event represents that the fortress was at the time badly in want of repair, that it was insufficiently provided with cannon, and that there were no artillerymen nor indeed regular soldiers of any branch of the service in it, its defence being undertaken by seventy male inhabitants of the town, who were the only persons on the island capable of bearing arms. But this statement does not agree either with the Dutch narrative or with the account given by Dos Santos, from which it appears that there were between soldiers and residents of the island one hundred and forty-five men in the fortress. It was commanded by an officer — Dom Estevão d'Ataide by name—who deserves a place among the bravest of his countrymen. He divided his force into four companies, to each of which he gave a bastion in charge. To one, under Martim Gomes de Carvalho, was committed the defence of the bastion São João, another, under Antonio Monteiro Corte Real, had a similar charge in the bastion Santo Antonio, the bastion Nossa Senhora was

confided to the care of André de Alpoim de Brito, while the bastion São Gabriel, which was the one most exposed to assault on the land side and where the stoutest resistance would have to be made, was entrusted to the company under Diogo de Carvalho. The people of the town hastily took shelter within the fortress, carrying their most valuable effects with them.

Van Caerden, in the *Banda*, led the way right under the guns of São Sebastião to the anchorage, where the Sofala packet and two carracks were lying. A heavy fire was opened on both sides, but, though the ships were slightly damaged, as the ramparts were of great height and the Portuguese guns could not be depressed to command the Dutch position thoroughly, no one except the master of the *Ceylon* was wounded. Two of the vessels at anchor were partly burned, but all were made prizes, after their crews had escaped to the shore.

On the 1st of April Van Caerden landed with seven hundred men and seven heavy guns, several of them twenty-eight-pounders, in order to lay siege to Fort São Sebastião. The Portuguese set fire to the town, in order to prevent their enemy from getting possession of spoil, though in this object they were unsuccessful, as a heavy fall of rain extinguished the flames before much damage was done. The Dutch commander took possession of the abandoned buildings without opposition, and made the Dominican convent his headquarters, lodging his people in the best houses. He commenced at once making trenches in which the fortress could be approached by men under shelter from its fire, and on the 6th his first battery was completed. The blacks, excepting the able-bodied, being considered an encumbrance by both combatants, D'Ataide expelled those who were in the fort, and Van Caerden caused all who were within his reach to be transported to the mainland.

From the batteries, which were mere earthen mounds with level surfaces, protected on the exposed sides with boxes, casks, and bags filled with soil, a heavy fire was opened, by

which the parapet of the bastion Santo Antonio was broken down, but it was repaired at night by the defenders, the women and others incapable of bearing arms giving assistance in this labour. The musketeers on the walls, in return, caused some loss to their opponents by shooting any who exposed themselves. The Portuguese historian makes special mention of one Dutch officer in a suit of white armour, who went about recklessly in full view, encouraging his men, and apparently regardless of danger, until he was killed by a musket ball.

The trenches were at length within thirty paces of the bastion São Gabriel, and a battery was constructed there, which could not be injured by the cannon on the fortress owing to their great elevation, while from it the walls could be battered with twenty-eight pound shot as long as the artillerymen took care not to show themselves to the musketeers on the ramparts. The Dutch commander then proposed a parley, and D'Ataide having consented, he demanded the surrender of the fortress. He stated that the Portuguese could expect no assistance from either Europe or India, as the mother country was exhausted and the viceroy Dom Martim Affonso de Castro had been defeated in a naval engagement, besides which nearly all the strongholds of the East were lost to them. It would therefore be better to capitulate while it could be done in safety than to expose the lives of the garrison to the fury of men who would carry the place by storm. Further, even if the walls proved too massive for cannon, hunger must soon reduce the fortress, as there could not be more than three months' provisions in it. The Portuguese replied with taunts and bravado, and defied the besiegers to do their worst. They would have no other intercourse with rebels, they said, than that of arms.

During the night of the 17th some of the garrison made a sortie for the purpose of destroying a drawbridge, which they effected, and then retired, after having killed two men according to their own account, though only having wounded one according to the Dutch statement. A trench was now

made close up to the wall of the bastion São Gabriel, and was covered with movable shields of timber of such thickness that they could not be destroyed by anything thrown upon them from the ramparts. During the night of the 29th, however, the garrison made a second sortie, in which they killed five Hollanders and wounded many more, and on the following day they succeeded in destroying the wooden shields by fire.

In the meantime fever and dysentery had attacked Van Caerden's people, and the prospect was becoming gloomy in the extreme. The fire from the batteries and ships had not damaged the walls of the fortress below the parapet, and sickness was increasing so fast that the Dutch commander could not wait for famine to give him the prize. He therefore resolved to raise the siege, and on the 6th of May he removed his cannon.

War between nations of different creeds in those days was carried on in a merciless manner. On the 7th of May Van Caerden wrote to Captain d'Ataide that he intended to burn and destroy all the churches, convents, houses, and palm groves on the island and the buildings and plantations on the mainland, unless they were ransomed; but offered to make terms if messengers were sent to him with that object. A truce was entered into for the purpose of correspondence, and six Hollanders dressed in Spanish costume went with a letter to the foot of the wall, where it was fastened to a string and drawn up. D'Ataide declined the proposal, however, and replied that he had no instructions from his superiors, nor intention of his own, except to do all that was possible with his weapons. He believed that if he ransomed the town on this occasion, he would only expose it to similar treatment every time a strong Dutch fleet should pass that way.

Van Caerden then burned all the boats, canoes, and houses, cut down all the cocoa-nut trees, sent a party of men to the mainland, who destroyed everything of value that they could reach there, and finally, just before

embarking, he set fire to the Dominican convent and the church of São Gabriel. What was more to be deplored, adds the Portuguese historian Barbuda, "the perfidious heretics burned with abominable fury all the images that were in the churches, after which they treated them with a thousand barbarous indignities." The walls of the great church and of some other buildings were too massive to be destroyed by the flames, but everything that was combustible was utterly ruined.

On the morning of the 16th of May, before daylight, the Dutch fleet set sail. As the ships were passing Fort São Sebastião every gun that could be got to bear was brought into use on both sides, when the *Zierikzee* had her tiller shot away, and ran aground. Her crew and the most valuable effects on board were rescued, however, by the boats of the rest of the fleet, though many men were wounded by the fire from the fort. The wreck was given to the flames.

In the second attempt to get possession of Mozambique the Dutch lost forty men, either killed by the enemy or carried off by fever, and they took many sick and wounded away. The Portuguese asserted that they had only thirteen men killed during the siege, and they magnified their slain opponents to over three hundred.

After Van Caerden sailed the Portuguese set about repairing the damage that had been done. In this they were assisted by the crews of three ships, under command of Dom Jeronymo Coutinho, that called on their way from Lisbon to Goa. The batteries were removed, the trenches were levelled, the walls of the ruined Dominican convent were broken down, and the fortress was repaired and provided with a good supply of food and munitions of war. Its garrison also was strengthened with one hundred soldiers landed from the ships. The inhabitants of the town returned to the ruins of their former habitations, and endeavoured to make new homes for themselves. These efforts to retrieve their disasters had hardly been

made when the island was attacked by another and more formidable fleet.

It consisted of the ships *Geunieerde Provintien, Hollandia, Amsterdam, Roode Leeuw met Pylen, Middelburg, Zeelandia, Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn, Arend, Paauw, Valk,* and *Griffioen,* carrying in all between eighteen and nineteen hundred men, and was under the command of Pieter Willemszoon Verhoeff, an officer who had greatly distinguished himself after Admiral Heemskerk's death in the famous battle in Gibraltar Bay. Verhoeff left the Netherlands on the 22nd of December 1607, and after a long stay at the island of St. Helena where he waited for the westerly winds to take him past the Cape of Good Hope, on the 28th of July 1608 arrived at Mozambique. He was under the impression that Van Caerden had certainly obtained possession of the fortress, and his object was to lie in wait for Portuguese ships in the Channel; but he was undeceived when his signals were answered with cannon balls and a flag of defiance was hoisted over the ramparts.

In the port were lying four coasting vessels and a carrack with a valuable cargo on board, ready to sail for Goa. In endeavouring to escape, the carrack ran aground under the guns of the fort, where the Dutch got possession of her, and made thirty-four of the crew prisoners. These were removed, but before much of the cargo could be got out the Portuguese from the fortress made a gallant dash, retook the carrack, and burned her to the water's edge. Two of the coasters were made prizes, the other two were in a position where they could not be attacked.

Within a few hours of his arrival Verhoeff landed a strong force, and formed a camp on the site of the destroyed Dominican convent. Next morning he commenced making trenches towards the fortress, by digging ditches and filling bags with earth, of which banks were then made. The Portuguese of the town had retired within the fortress in such haste that they were unable to remove any of their effects, and the blacks, as during the preceding

siege, were now sent over to the mainland to be out of the way. Some of the ships were directed to cruise off the port, the others were anchored out of cannon range. A regular siege of the fortress was commenced.

In the mode of attack this siege differed little from that by Van Caerden, as trenches and batteries were made in the same manner and almost in the same places. But there were some incidents connected with it that deserve to be mentioned. At its commencement an accident occurred in the fortress, which nearly had disastrous consequences. A soldier, through carelessness, let a lighted fuse fall in a quantity of gunpowder, and by the explosion that resulted several men were killed and a fire was kindled which for a short time threatened the destruction of the storehouses, but which was extinguished before much harm was done.

On the second day after the batteries were in full working order the wall of the fortress between the bastions Santo Antonio and São Gabriel was partly broken down, and, according to the Portuguese account, a breach was opened through which a storming party might have entered. "If," says the historian Barbuda, "they had been Portuguese, no doubt they would have stormed; but as the Dutch are nothing more than good artillerymen, and beyond this are of no account except to be burned as desperate heretics, they had not courage to rush through the ruin of the wall." That this was said of men who had fought under Heemskerk leads one to suspect that probably the breach was not of great size, and the more so as the garrison was able to repair it during the following night. It is not mentioned in the Dutch account, in which the bravery of their opponents is fully recognised.

On the 4th of August Verhoeff sent a trumpeter with a letter demanding the surrender of the fortress. D'Ataide would not even write a reply. He said that as he had compelled Van Caerden to abandon the siege he hoped to be able to do the same with his present opponent. The captain of the bastion São Gabriel, however, wrote that the castle had

been confided by the king to the commandant, who was not the kind of cat to be taken without gloves. Verhoeff believed that the garrison was ill supplied with food, so his trumpeter was well entertained, and on several occasions goats and pigs were driven out of the gateway in a spirit of bravado.

Sorties were frequently made by the besieged, who had the advantage of being able to observe from the ramparts the movements of the Dutch. In one of these a soldier named Moraria distinguished himself by attacking singly with his lance three pikemen in armour at a distance from their batteries, killing two of them, and wounding the other.

D'Ataide was made acquainted with his enemy's plans by a French deserter, who claimed his protection on the ground of being of the same religion. Four others subsequently deserted from the Dutch camp, and were received in the fortress on the same plea. Verhoeff demanded that they should be surrendered to him, and threatened that if they were not given up he would put to death the thirty-four prisoners he had taken in the carrack. D'Ataide replied that if the prisoners were thirty-four thousand he would not betray men who were catholics and who had claimed his protection, but if the Portuguese captives were murdered their blood would certainly be avenged. Verhoeff relates in his journal that the whole of the prisoners were then brought out in sight of the garrison and shot, regarding the act in the spirit of the time as rather creditable than otherwise; but the version of the Portuguese historian may be correct, in which it is stated that six men with their hands bound were shot in sight of their countrymen, and that the others, though threatened, were spared.

Until the 18th of August the siege was continued. Twelve hundred and fifty cannon balls had been fired against the fortress, without effect as far as its reduction was concerned. Thirty of Verhoeff's men had been killed and eighty were wounded. He therefore abandoned the effort, and embarked his force, after destroying what remained of the town.

On the 21st a great galleon approached the island so close that the ships in the harbour could be counted from her deck, but put about the moment the Dutch flag was distinguished. Verhoeff sent the ships *Arend*, *Griffioen*, and *Valk* in pursuit, and she was soon overtaken. According to the Dutch account she made hardly any resistance, but in a letter to the king from her captain, Francisco de Sodre Pereira, which is still preserved, he claims to have made a gallant stand for the honour of his flag. The galleon was poorly armed, but he says that he fought till his ammunition was all expended, and even then would not consent to surrender, though the ship was so riddled with cannon balls that she was in danger of going down. He preferred, he said to those around him, to sink with his colours flying. The purser, however, lowered the ensign without orders, and a moment afterwards the Dutch, who had closed in, took possession. The prize proved to be the *Bom Jesus*, from Lisbon, which had got separated from a fleet on the way to Goa, under command of the newly appointed viceroy, the count De Feira. She had a crew of one hundred and eighty men. The officers were detained as prisoners, the others were put ashore on the island Saint George with provisions sufficient to last them two days.

On the 23rd of August the fleet sailed from Mozambique for India. There can be little question that this defeat of the Dutch was more advantageous to them than victory would have been, for if their design had succeeded a very heavy tax upon their resources and their energy would have been entailed thereafter. They did not realise this fact, however, and fifty-five years later another unsuccessful attempt was made to acquire the coveted East African possessions.

Although Fort São Sebastião after the last siege was provided with a garrison of one hundred and fifty men and some small armed vessels were kept on the coast to endeavour to prevent the Dutch from communicating with the inhabitants or obtaining provisions and water, their ships

kept the Portuguese stations in constant alarm. In the eastern seas they were by this time the dominant power, and were fast building up a commerce greater by far than the Portuguese had ever carried on. They distributed their spices and silks over Europe, whereas their predecessors were satisfied with making Lisbon a market, to which purchasers of other nations might come for whatever they needed.

On the 21st of November 1609 Pieter Both was appointed first governor-general of Netherlands India. He left Texel with the next fleet, which sailed in the following January. In a great storm off the Cape his ship got separated from the others, so he put into Table Bay to repair some damages to the mainmast and to refresh his men. In July 1610 Captain Nicholas Downton called at the same port in an English vessel, and found Governor-General Both's ship lying at anchor and also two homeward bound Dutch ships taking in train oil which had been collected at Robben Island.

In May 1611 the Dutch skipper Isaac le Maire, after whom the straits of Le Maire are named, called at Table Bay. When he sailed, he left behind his son Jacob and a party of seamen, who resided in Table Valley for several months. Their object was to kill seals on Robben Island, and to harpoon whales, which were then very abundant in South African waters in the winter season. They also tried to open up a trade for skins of animals with the Hottentots in the neighbourhood.

In 1616 the assembly of seventeen resolved that its outward bound fleets should always put into Table Bay to refresh the crews, and from that time onward Dutch ships touched there almost every season. A kind of post office was established by marking the dates of arrivals and departures on stones, and burying letters in places indicated. But no attempt was made to explore the country, and no port south of the Zambesi except Table Bay was frequented by Netherlanders, so that in the middle of the century nothing mor concerning it was known than the Portuguese had placed on record.

In England an East India Company was also established, whose first fleet, consisting of the *Dragon*, of six hundred tons, the *Hector*, of three hundred tons, the *Ascension*, of two hundred and sixty tons, and the *Susan*, of two hundred and forty tons burden, sailed from Torbay on the 22nd of April 1601. The admiral was James Lancaster, the same who had commanded the *Edward Bonaventure* ten years earlier. The chief pilot was John Davis, who had only returned from the Indies nine months before. On the 9th of September the fleet came to anchor in Table Bay, by which time the crews of all except the admiral's ship were so terribly afflicted with scurvy that they were unable to drop their anchors. The admiral had kept his men in a tolerable state of health by supplying them with a small quantity of limejuice daily. After his ship was anchored he was obliged to get out his boats and go to the assistance of the others. Sails were then taken on shore to serve as tents, and the sick were landed as soon as possible. Trade was commenced with the Hottentots, and in the course of a few days forty-two oxen and a thousand sheep were obtained for pieces of iron hoop. The fleet remained in Table Bay nearly seven weeks, during which time most of the sick men recovered.

On the 5th of December 1604 the *Tiger*—a ship of two hundred and forty tons—and a pinnace called the *Tiger's Whelp* set sail from Cowes for the Indies. The expedition was under command of Sir Edward Michelburne, and next to him in rank was Captain John Davis. It was the last voyage that this famous seaman was destined to make, for he was killed in an encounter with Japanese pirates on the 27th of December 1605. The journal of the voyage contains the following paragraph:—

"The 3rd of April 1605 we sailed by a little island which Captain John Davis took to be one that stands some five or six leagues from Saldanha. Whereupon our general, Sir Edward Michelburne, desirous to see the island, took his skiff, accompanied by no more than the master's mate

the purser, myself, and four men that did row the boat, and so putting off from the ship we came on land. While we were on shore they in the ship had a storm, which drove them out of sight of the island; and we were two days and two nights before we could recover our ship. Upon the said island is abundance of great conies and seals, whereupon we called it Cony Island."

On the 8th of April they anchored in Table Bay, where they remained until the 3rd of the following month refreshing themselves.

On the 14th of March 1608 the East India Company's ships *Ascension* and *Union* sailed from England, and on the 14th of July put into Table Bay to obtain refreshments and to build a small vessel for which they had brought out the materials ready prepared. The crews constructed a fort to protect themselves by raising an earthen wall in the form of a square and mounting a cannon on each angle. They found a few Hottentots on the shore, to whom they made known by signs their want of oxen and sheep, which three days afterwards were brought for barter in such numbers that they procured as much meat as they needed. They gave a yard (91·4 centimetres) of iron hoop for an ox, and half that length for a sheep. After bartering them, the Hottentots whistled some away and then brought them for sale again, which was not resented, as the English officers were desirous of remaining on friendly terms with the rude people. For the same reason no notice was taken of the theft of various articles of trifling value.

Boats were sent to Robben Island to capture seals, as oil was needed, and many of these animals were killed and brought to the fort. After cutting off the oily parts the carcases were carried to a distance as useless, but for fifteen days the Hottentots feasted upon the flesh, which they merely heated on embers, though before the expiration of that time it had become so putrid and the odour so offensive that the Europeans were obliged to keep at a great distance from it.

Great quantities of steenbras were obtained with a seine at the mouth of Salt River, and three thousand five hundred mullets were caught and taken on board for consumption after leaving. The object of refreshing was thus fully carried out, as was also that of putting together the little vessel, which was even made larger than the original design, and which when launched was named the *Good Hope*.

Mr. John Jourdain, an official of the East India Company, who was a passenger in the *Ascension*, and from whose journal this account is taken, with some others ascended Table Mountain. From its summit they saw the same sheet of water on the flats which Antonio de Saldanha a hundred and five years before had mistaken for the mouth of a great river, and which Mr. Jourdain now mistook for an inland harbour with an opening to the sea by which ships might enter it. He, however, unlike his Portuguese predecessor, had an opportunity afterwards of visiting the big pond and ascertaining that his conjecture was incorrect.

Mr. Jourdain was of opinion that a settlement of great utility might be formed in Table Valley. In words almost identical with those of Jansen and Proot forty years later he spoke of its capabilities for producing grain and fruit, of the hides, sealskins, and oil that could be obtained to reduce the expense, of the possibility of opening up a trade in ivory, as he had seen many footprints of elephants, and of bringing the Hottentots first to "civility," and then to a knowledge of God.

After a stay of a little more than two months, on the 19th of September the *Ascension* and *Union* sailed again, with the *Good Hope* in their company.

From this date onward the fleets of the English East India Company made Table Bay a port of call and refreshment, and usually procured in barter from the Hottentots as many cattle as they needed. In 1614 the board of directors sent a ship with as many spare men as she could carry, a quantity of provisions, and some naval stores to Table Bay to wait for the homeward bound fleet, and, while delayed, to

carry on a whale and seal fishery as a means of partly meeting the expense. The plan was found to answer fairly well, and it was continued for several years. The relieving vessels left England between October and February, in order to be at the Cape in May, when the homeward bound fleets usually arrived from India. If men were much needed, the victualler — which was commonly an old vessel — was then abandoned, otherwise an ordinary crew was left in her to capture whales, or she proceeded to some port in the East, according to circumstances.

The advantage of a place of refreshment in South Africa was obvious, and as early as 1613 enterprising individuals in the service of the East India Company drew the attention of the directors to the advisability of forming a settlement in Table Valley. Still earlier it was rumoured that the king of Spain and Portugal had such a design in contemplation, with the object of cutting off thereby the intercourse of all other nations with the Indian seas, so that the strategical value of the Cape was already recognised. The directors discussed the matter on several occasions, but their views in those days were very limited, and the scheme seemed too large for them to attempt alone.

In their fleets were officers of a much more enterprising spirit, as they were without responsibility in regard to the cost of any new undertaking. In 1620 some of these proclaimed King James I sovereign of the territory extending from Table Bay to the dominions of the nearest Christian prince. The records of this event are interesting, as they not only give the particulars of the proclamation and the reasons that led to it, but show that there must often have been a good deal of bustle in Table Valley in those days.

On the 24th of June 1620 four ships bound to Surat, under command of Andrew Shillinge, put into Table Bay, and were joined when entering by two others bound to Bantam, under command of Humphrey Fitzherbert. The Dutch had at this time the greater part of the commerce of the East in their hands, and nine large ships under their

flag were found at anchor. The English vessel *Lion* was also there. Commodore Fitzherbert made the acquaintance of some of the Dutch officers, and was informed by them that they had inspected the country around, as their Company intended to form a settlement in Table Valley the following year. Thereupon he consulted with Commodore Shillinge, who agreed with him that it was advisable to try to frustrate the project of the Hollanders. On the 25th the Dutch fleet sailed for Bantam, and the *Lion* left at the same time, but the *Schiedam*, from Delft, arrived and cast anchor.

On the 1st of July the principal English officers, twenty-one in number,—among them the Arctic navigator William Baffin,—met in council, and resolved to proclaim the sovereignty of King James I over the whole country. They placed on record their reasons for this decision, which were, that they were of opinion a few men only would be needed to keep possession of Table Valley, that a plantation would be of great service for the refreshment of the fleets, that the soil was fruitful and the climate pleasant, that the Hottentots would become willing subjects in time and they hoped would also become servants of God, that the whale fishery would be a source of profit, but, above all, that they regarded it as more fitting for the Dutch when ashore there to be subjects of the king of England than for Englishmen to be subject to them or any one else. "Rule Britannia" was a very strong sentiment, evidently, with that party of adventurous seamen.

On the 3rd of July a proclamation of sovereignty was read in presence of as many men of the six ships as could go ashore for the purpose of taking part in the ceremony. Skipper Jan Cornelis Kunst, of the *Schiedam*, and some of his officers were also present, and raised no objection. On the Lion's rump, or King James's mount as Fitzherbert and Shillinge named it, the flag of St. George was hoisted, and was saluted, the spot being afterwards marked by a mound of stones. A small flag was then given to the Hottentots to

preserve and exhibit to visitors, which it was believed they would do most carefully.

After going through this ceremony with the object of frustrating the designs of the Dutch, the English officers buried a packet of despatches beside a stone slab in the valley, on which were engraved the letters V O C, they being in perfect ignorance of the fact that those symbols denoted prior possession taken for the Dutch East India Company. On the 25th of July the Surat fleet sailed, and on the next day Fitzherbert's two ships followed, leaving at anchor in the bay only the English ship *Bear* which had arrived on the 10th.

The proceeding of Fitzherbert and Shillinge, which was entirely unauthorised, was not confirmed by the directors of the East India Company or by the government of England, and nothing whatever came of it. At that time the ocean commerce of England was small, and as she had just entered upon the work of colonising North America, she was not prepared to attempt to form a settlement in South Africa also. Her king and the directors of her India Company had no higher ambition than to enter into a close alliance with the Dutch Company, and to secure by this means a stated proportion of the trade of the East. In the Netherlands also a large and influential party was in favour of either forming a federated company, or of a binding union of some kind, so as to put it out of the power of the Spaniards and Portuguese to harm them. From 1613 onward this matter was frequently discussed on both sides of the Channel, and delegates went backward and forward, but it was almost impossible to arrange terms.

The Dutch had many fortresses which they had either built or taken from the Portuguese in Java and the Spice islands, and the English had none, so that the conditions of the two parties were unequal. In 1617, however, the king of France sent ships to the eastern seas, and in the following year the king of Denmark embarked in the same enterprise, when a possibility arose that one or other of

them might unite with Holland or England. Accordingly each party was more willing than before to make concessions, and on the 2nd of June 1619 a close alliance was entered into. The English Company was to bear half the cost of offensive and defensive operations in the Indian seas, and was to have one-third of the trade of the Moluccas, Banda, and Amboina, the remaining eastern commerce to be free for each party to make the most of.

The rivalry, however,—bordering closely on animosity—between the servants of the two companies in distant lands prevented any agreement of this nature made in Europe being carried out, and though in 1623 another treaty of alliance was entered into, in the following year it was dissolved. Thereafter the great success of the Dutch in the East placed them beyond the desire of partnership with competitors.

While these negotiations were in progress, a proposal was made from Holland that a refreshment station should be established in South Africa for the joint use of the fleets of the two nations, and the English directors received it favourably. They undertook to cause a search for a proper place to be made by the next ship sent to the Cape with relief for the returning fleet, and left the Dutch at liberty to make a similar search in any convenient way. Accordingly on the 30th of November 1619 the assembly of seventeen issued instructions to the commodore of the fleet then about to sail to examine the coast carefully from Saldanha Bay to a hundred or a hundred and fifty nautical miles east of the Cape of Good Hope, in order that the best harbour for the purpose might be selected. This was done, and an opinion was pronounced in favour of Table Bay. In 1622 a portion of the coast was inspected for the same purpose by Captain Johnson, in the English ship *Rose*, but his opinion of Table Bay and the other places which he visited was such that he would not recommend any of them. The tenor of his report mattered little, however, for with the failure of the close alliance between the two companies, the design of

establishing a refreshment station in South Africa was abandoned by both.

Perhaps the ill opinion of Table Bay formed by Captain Johnson may have arisen from an occurrence that took place on its shore during the previous voyage of the *Rose*. That ship arrived in the bay on the 28th of January 1620, and on the following day eight of her crew went ashore with a seine to catch fish near the mouth of Salt River. They never returned, but the bodies of four were afterwards found and buried, and it was believed that the Hottentots had either carried the other four away as prisoners or had murdered them and concealed the corpses.

This was not the only occurrence of the kind, for in March 1632 twenty-three men belonging to a Dutch ship that put into Table Bay lost their lives in conflict with the inhabitants. The cause of these quarrels is not known with certainty, but at the time it was believed they were brought on by the Europeans attempting to rob the Hottentots of cattle.

An experiment was once made with a view of trying to secure a firm friend among the Hottentots, and impressing those people with respect for the wonders of civilisation. A savage named Cory was taken from the Cape to England, where he was made a great deal of, and received many rich and valuable presents. Sir Thomas Smythe, the governor of the East India Company, was particularly kind to him, and gave him among other things a complete suit of brass armour. He returned to South Africa with Captain Nicholas Downton in the ship *New Year's Gift*, and in June 1614 landed in Table Valley with all his treasures. But Captain Downton, who thought that he was overflowing with gratitude, saw him no more. Cory returned to his former habits of living, and instead of acting as was anticipated, taught his countrymen to despise bits of copper in exchange for their cattle, so that for a long time afterwards it was impossible for ships that called to obtain a supply of fresh meat.

Mr. John Jourdain, when returning from India to England, put into Table Bay on the 25th of February 1617. A few lean calves were obtained on the day the ships anchored, but nothing whatever afterwards, though at one time about ten thousand head of cattle were in sight. Mr. Jourdain and a party of sixty armed men went a short distance into the country, and he was of opinion that through the roguery of "that dogge Cory" they would have been drawn into a conflict with some five thousand Hottentots if they had not prudently retired. Thereafter he believed no cattle would be obtained except at dear rates, for the Hottentots no longer esteemed iron hoops, copper, or even shining brass. A fort, he considered, would be the only means of bringing them to "civility." On this occasion Mr. Jourdain remained in Table Bay eighteen days, of which only four were calm and fine.

According to a statement made by a Welshman who was in Table Bay in August 1627, and who kept a journal, part of which has been preserved,* Cory came to an evil end. The entry reads: "They" (the Hottentots) "hate the duchmen since they hanged on of the blackes called Cary who was in England & upon refusall of fresh victuals they put him to death."

It has been seen what use the Portuguese made of convicts when they were exploring unknown countries, or when there were duties of a particularly hazardous or unpleasant nature to be performed. The English employed criminals in the same manner. In January 1615 the governor of the East India Company obtained permission from the king to transport some men under sentence of death to countries occupied by savages, where, it was supposed, they would be the means of procuring supplies of provisions, making discoveries, and creating trade. The records in existence—unless

* The name of the Welshman is not given in the *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh language* by the Historical Manuscripts Commission (Vol. I, Part 3), published in London in 1905, from which this extract is taken.

there are documents in some unknown place—furnish too scanty material for a complete account of the manner in which this design was carried out. Only the following can be ascertained with certainty. A few days after the consent of the king was given, the sheriffs of London sent seventeen men from Newgate on board ships bound to the Indies, and these were voluntarily accompanied by three others, who appear to have been convicted criminals, but not under sentence of death. The proceeding was regarded as "a very charitable deed and a means to bring them to God by giving them time for repentance, to crave pardon for their sins, and reconcile themselves unto His favour." On the 5th of June, after a passage from the Thames of one hundred and thirty-two days, the four ships comprising the fleet arrived in Table Bay, and on the 16th nine of the condemned men were set ashore with their own free will. To each a gun with some ammunition and a quantity of provisions were given, and they were then left to their fate.

In one of the ships of this fleet Sir Thomas Roe, English envoy to the Great Mogul, was a passenger. A pillar bearing an inscription of his embassy was set up in Table Valley, and fifteen or twenty kilogrammes weight of stone which he believed to contain quicksilver and vermilion was taken away to be assayed in England, but of particulars that would be much more interesting now no information whatever is to be had from the records of his journey.

Again, in June 1616, three condemned men were set ashore in Table Valley, and a letter signed by them is extant, in which they acknowledge the clemency of King James in granting them their forfeited lives, and promise to do his Majesty good and acceptable service.

There may have been other instances of the kind, of which no record is in existence now. How the criminals lived, what effect their residence had upon the Hottentot clans, and how they died, must be left to conjecture. The fate of only a very few is known. These made their way back to England, and were there executed for fresh offences.

No further effort was made by the English at this time to form a connection with the inhabitants of South Africa, though their ships continued to call at Table Bay for the purpose of taking in water and getting such other refreshment as was obtainable. They did not attempt to explore the country or to correct the charts of its coasts, nor did they frequent any of its ports except Table Bay, and very rarely Mossel Bay, until a much later date. A few remarks in ships' journals, and a few pages of observations and opinions in a book of travels such as that of Sir Thomas Herbert, from none of which can any reliable information be obtained that is not also to be drawn from earlier Portuguese writers, are all the contributions to a knowledge of South Africa made by Englishmen during the early years of the seventeenth century. Though our countrymen were behind no others in energy and daring, as Drake, Raleigh, Gilbert, Davis, Hawkins, and a host of others had proved so well, not forgetting either the memorable story of the *Revenge*, which Jan Huyghen van Linschoten handed down for a modern historian to write in more thrilling words, England had not yet entered fully upon her destined career either of discovery or of commerce, the time when "the ocean wave should be her home" was still in the days to come.

The Danes were the next to make their appearance in the Indian seas. Their first fleet, fitted out by King Christian IV, consisted of six ships, under Ove Giedde as admiral. On the 8th of July 1619 this fleet put into Table Bay, where eight English ships were found at anchor, whose officers treated the Danes with hospitality. Admiral Giedde remained here until the 5th of August, when his people were sufficiently refreshed to proceed on their voyage. On the 30th of August 1621 he reached Table Bay again in the ship *Elephant* on his return passage from Ceylon and India, and remained until the 12th of September. Before leaving he had an inscription cut on a stone, in which the dates of both his visits were recorded.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FRUITLESS SEARCH FOR SILVER MINES.

THE power of the Portuguese in the East was irrecoverably broken, and their possessions were falling one after another into stronger hands, but the individual who was most affected by the change could not, or did not, realise the extent of his loss. That individual was Philippe, the third of Spain, the second of Portugal, who among his numerous titles still retained that of Lord of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India. Perhaps he did not know of all the disasters that had overtaken his subjects, for he heard nothing except through the ears of the duke of Lerma, and that all-powerful favourite was not the man to point out that his empire was crumbling away, or to suggest any efficient means of preserving what still remained of it.

Accordingly in the royal orders to the viceroys of India, which commenced with the phrase "I the king," instructions were given in as lofty language as if Philippe was still really lord of the East and in receipt of an ample revenue. With regard to the coast of South-Eastern Africa, a hundred and fifty — a little later raised to three hundred — soldiers were to be stationed at Mozambique, the fortifications of Sofala were to be thoroughly repaired and provided with a garrison, forts were to be constructed at the different mouths of the Zambesi to protect the entrances of that river, Tete and Sena were to be made secure, and a fleet of armed vessels was to be kept cruising up and down the coast, so as to make the whole line impregnable. But where were

the men and the ships and the money to come from? That question could not be answered, and thus matters remained in the most wretched condition imaginable.

On the 21st of March 1608 the king wrote to Dom João Frojas Pereira, count of Feira, then viceroy of India, that Sebastião de Macedo and Dom Estevão d'Ataide, successively captains of Mozambique, had sent specimens of silver ore to Lisbon so rich as to yield two-thirds of their weight pure metal. The exact locality where the ore was obtained was unknown, but it was believed to be at Tshicova, on the southern bank of the Zambesi some distance above Tete. The king therefore ordered the viceroy to send a force of five hundred men under Sebastião de Macedo, Dom Estevão d'Ataide, or some other suitable person, to search for the mines and take possession of them. In addition to the fortifications and garrisons already mentioned, four strongholds, which Dom Estevão d'Ataide had represented as necessary to secure the country, were to be built and occupied, namely one each at Tshicova, Masapa, Bukoto, and Luanze. No ground except the actual mines was to be taken from the inhabitants, nor was the government of the monomotapa over his people to be interfered with in any way. The general in command of the expedition was to have supreme control in South-Eastern Africa, and upon his arrival was to appoint a new captain of Mozambique, who was to command the garrison and town in subordination to him.

The time was opportune for such an enterprise, as the principal Kalanga tribe had for some years been engaged in civil war, and the Portuguese had acquired considerable influence in the country. In 1597, when Nuno da Cunha was captain of Mozambique, a powerful tribe on the border, under a chief named Tshunzo, made war upon the monomotapa, and sent two strong armies into his territory. One of these, under the induna Kapampo, marched as far as Masapa, but retreated on learning that an immense Kalanga force under Ningomosha, the monomotapa's general in chief, was rapidly approaching. In retreating, Kapampo

laid the country along his line of march utterly waste, so that Ningomosha was unable to follow him. The monomotapa of the time, Gasilusere by name, was addicted to the use of dacha, and was otherwise a cruel, passionate, faithless tyrant. Though Ningomosha was in no way to blame for what had occurred, and was the next in rank to himself in the tribe, he caused him to be put to death for having failed to overtake Kapampo, and by this act raised against himself a large section of the people.

The other division of Tshunzo's force, under the induna Tshikanda, marched to within a short distance of the great place, and there made peace with the monomotapa on condition of being permitted to retain possession of the district it was then occupying. Two years later, however, the war was renewed, when Tshikanda robbed some slaves who were trading for their Portuguese masters, upon which the inhabitants of Tete and Sena joined the monomotapa against him. They were seventy-five in number, and took with them about two thousand Kaffir warriors, the whole force being under the command of Belchior d'Araujo, captain of Tete. Tshikanda was found within a lager, surrounded by about thirty thousand Makalanga. He had only six hundred warriors with him, but he had made as light of his opponents as a cat would of so many mice, attacking them by day and night and slaughtering many of them. The Portuguese approached the lager under cover of wickerwork screens carried before them, and shot so many of those within that Tshikanda offered to surrender on condition that the lives of his people should be spared. The Makalanga would not agree to this, so that night the besieged band attempted to cut its way through them, and Tshikanda and a few of his followers escaped. At dawn next morning the Portuguese entered the lager and found a considerable amount of spoil. They then returned to their homes, after having obtained from the monomotapa, in recompense of their services, permission to carry arms wherever they should travel in his country, a privilege they had not enjoyed before.

The defeat of Tshikanda, instead of restoring peace to the Kalanga tribe, brought on civil war, for the party that resented the death of Ningomosha, being no longer apprehensive of danger from a foreign foe, rose in revolt against the drunken and ferocious monomotapa. They gained some successes, but when a few Portuguese under the leadership of Francisco da Cunha, captain of the Gates, went to the monomotapa's aid, they lost heart and fled to the territory of a chief who was supposed to be friendly to their cause. This chief, however, instead of receiving them as they had anticipated, seized their leader, cut off his head, and sent it to the monomotapa. By this act another of the rebel commanders, a man of great energy and ability, named Matuzianye, became the head of the insurgents, and he carried on the war so skilfully that in a few years he was master of nearly the whole country.

The monomotapa was in a sore plight when a Portuguese trader named Diogo Simões Madeira, who had been some time resident at Tete, volunteered to assist him. This man raised a small company of Europeans armed with arquebuses, with whose assistance the legitimate Kalanga ruler recovered a large part of his territory. As a reward to his Portuguese friend for such valuable service he made him a present of the district of Inyabanzo adjoining the lands subject to Tete, with sovereign rights over the people residing in it. Further, on the 1st of August 1607, being encamped on the bank of the river Mazoe, he attached his mark to a document formally drawn up by the notary Miguel Nunes, in which he ceded to the king of Portugal all the mines of gold, copper, iron, pewter, and lead in his country, on condition that the king should maintain him in his position. All silver mines he granted to Diogo Madeira, who in the same document transferred them to the king. Under his name on the deed of gift the monomotapa with his own hand made three crosses, and the document was signed as principals by Miguel Nunes and Diogo Simões Madeira. As witnesses the signatures were attached of the friar João Lobo, vicar of Luanze, the friar Manuel de São Vicente, chaplain of the force, and

twenty-four other Portuguese, in addition to the marks of several who could not write.

As a proof of good faith the monomotapa delivered to Diogo Madeira two of his sons, in order that they might be educated at Tete and brought up as Christians, and he promised to give two of his daughters for the same purpose. Shortly after this event the principal army of the insurgents was defeated in a pitched battle, and the monomotapa regained possession of his great place. The Portuguese then returned to Tete, taking with them the two young chiefs,—the daughters were never given to them,—and the country was apparently again in a condition of peace. The sons of the great chief were maintained in the house of Diogo Madeira, and having received instruction from the Dominican friars were baptized with the names Philippe and Diogo. The elder of the two, Philippe, then returned to his father, but Diogo remained at Tete, where he was taught to read and write as well as to assist the friars in the services of the church.

A year passed away, and the monomotapa collected his army again to attack the rebels who had not submitted. The tribe under Mongasi had hitherto maintained neutrality, but he now fell upon that chief and caused him to be killed. Thereupon the Mongasis effected a junction with Matuzianye, and at once the tide of success turned. The monomotapa's forces were defeated, and in a short time he was reduced to the greatest straits. Matuzianye then invaded Inyabanzo, but was driven back by Diogo Madeira, who built a strong lager and stationed twenty arquebusiers and three hundred Kaffir warriors in it. It was hardly completed when messengers arrived from the monomotapa, urgently begging for assistance. The great chief had just been defeated by Matuzianye in a battle in which he had been wounded himself and his eldest son had been killed. Diogo Madeira sent out a party that found the distressed fugitive, and escorted him to the lager at Inyabanzo, where he remained three months under the protection of the

Portuguese. Then he removed to Tshidima, farther up the southern bank of the Zambesi, where he would be within easy reach of European aid should his enemies attack him again. Surely romance furnishes nothing more strange than the hereditary chief of the largest and most advanced tribe of Southern Africa depending for existence upon the favour of a European adventurer with barely a couple of score of arquebuses at his command.

This was the state of affairs when the king's orders concerning the search for the silver mines were issued. The count of Feira, to whom they were addressed, died while they were on the way out, and the friar Dom Aleixo de Menezes, archbishop of Goa, was acting as governor-general of Portuguese India when they arrived. He could not carry them out completely, but he did what was possible by appointing Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira, an officer of energy and ability, captain general of the conquest, and giving him a hundred soldiers to accompany him to South-Eastern Africa. In March 1609 the captain general arrived at Tete, and at once sent thirty soldiers to act as a bodyguard to the monomotapa. Having made the necessary arrangements, he directed Diogo Madeira to proceed to Tshidima in command of the remaining seventy soldiers and two thousand Kaffirs of Tete, and instructed him to deliver a valuable present to the monomotapa, whom he was to persuade to accompany the expedition to Tshicova and point out the silver mines. The monomotapa consented to this arrangement. On the way the chief of the clan that occupied Tshicova met the party and presented three small pieces of silver ore to the Portuguese leader, but he and his attendants disappeared immediately afterwards, and on arriving at the place neither the monomotapa nor any one else was able to point out a mine. Still it was believed that if the fugitive chief and his people could be captured they would be able to do so, and therefore it was resolved to suppress the insurrection as a preliminary measure.

After a stay of eighteen days at Tshicova the Portuguese army with all the warriors the monomotapa could collect marched against Matuzianye, and in a series of engagements inflicted such losses upon him that he was at length compelled to take refuge with a few followers on a strong mountain. The Portuguese, however, met with some reverses as well. At Bukoto they were defeated, and for a short time that station was occupied by the enemy. When at length Matuzianye's adherents were completely dispersed Diogo Madeira left ten soldiers as a bodyguard with the monomotapa, who was then at his great place, and with the remainder of his force he returned to Tete, taking with him several men of rank who were directed by the chief to transfer the silver mines to the captain general. Shortly after this Matuzianye was treacherously assassinated by an agent of the monomotapa, and organised opposition to the authority of the legitimate ruler entirely ceased throughout the country, though some robber bands still held out in the mountains.

In the meantime Ruy Lourenço de Tavora had arrived at Goa as viceroy, and had appointed Dom Estevão d'Ataide captain general of the conquest. Dom Estevão had arrived at Sena, and Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira had gone down the river to meet him and transfer the government. Diogo Madeira therefore proceeded to Sena with the monomotapa's envoys, and introduced them to the new captain general, at the same time reporting all that had occurred. But now a great change took place in the attitude of the Kalanga deputies. Their tribe was once more united, and they felt themselves strong enough to resist the little party of Portuguese to whom they had been so submissive while Matuzianye was alive and in rebellion. They therefore put on a bold face, and demanded the merchandise which each new captain of Mozambique had been obliged to send to the monomotapa on entering office. Dom Estevão d'Ataide made large promises, but gave no cloth. He sent the Kalanga deputies back to Masapa with Diogo Carvalho and

fifty soldiers, who built a stockade or strong lager there, and occupied it as a garrison. A robber band, consisting of the most determined of the late rebels, was in possession of a mountain stronghold close by, so the monomotapa sent an army to encamp in the neighbourhood, in expectation that the Portuguese would assist to destroy it. The robbers attacked Masapa twice, and caused some loss, but Carvalho was not to be drawn from his fort.

As Dom Estevão's promises were not fulfilled, the monomotapa grew weary of waiting for the merchandise which his envoys had asked for, and ordered a general empata, or confiscation of Portuguese property, throughout his country. Several traders were killed in resisting it, and even Diogo Madeira, who was on a bartering expedition at the time, although he had performed such eminent services for the great chief, was robbed of all his goods and barely escaped with his life. Diogo Carvalho, on learning what was taking place, formed an alliance with the robbers in his neighbourhood, and together with them fell upon the Kalanga camp one night and created great havoc in it. He then abandoned Masapa and retired to Tete, leaving no Portuguese in the interior of the monomotapa's country.

Dom Estevão d'Ataide now resolved upon war with the Kalanga tribe. The force under his command, consisting of only one hundred and twenty-five soldiers, was altogether too puny for such an undertaking, but he hoped to obtain the aid of the clans that had been recently in rebellion as well as of the tribes along the Zambesi that were the hereditary enemies of the monomotapa. He shifted his head quarters from Sena to Tete, and sent Diogo Carvalho two days' journey farther up the river to build and occupy a fort to be called Santo Estevão. This was just accomplished when a complete break in the proceedings occurred. It was reported in Lisbon that a fleet of unusual strength was about to leave Holland for India, so on the 10th of October 1611 the king issued instructions that the captain general of the conquest was at once to reinforce the garrison of

Mozambique, which then consisted of only twenty-five soldiers. In consequence of this order, in March 1612 Dom Estevão was obliged to leave Tete with all his force, and seven months elapsed before he could return. Diogo Madeira, who had received from the viceroy the appointment of captain of Tete for life, remained behind with the permanent residents of the place, but they, though assisted by their Bantu subjects and by the people of the district of Inyabanzo, could do nothing more than defend themselves against the strong army which the monomotapa sent to attack them.

In 1612 reinforcements of troops arrived at Mozambique from Portugal, and Dom Estevão d'Ataide was enabled to return to the Zambesi. But the king was becoming dissatisfied with the want of progress in conquest or discovery, and he found fault with the terms on which the viceroy Ruy Lourenço de Tavora had engaged the captain general. To the new viceroy, Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo, he wrote that his predecessor had no authority to promise high honours and favours to Dom Estevão in the event of his being successful, and he directed that the agreement with him should be annulled. Dom Estevão was to proceed to India, leaving the direction of military matters in the hands of Diogo Simões Madeira, who was made a member of the order of Christ and was granted a small annual pension, besides being confirmed in possession of the district of Inyabanzo and promised the rank of a nobleman should he succeed in discovering and opening the silver mines. He was not, however, to have the position of captain general of the conquest, as Ruy de Mello de Sampayo, who had a claim to the captaincy of Mozambique under the former condition of affairs, was to have the civil administration and independent command of Fort São Sebastião given to him with a monopoly of the commerce south of the Zambesi on the usual terms.

Ruy de Mello de Sampayo was not in India when this order arrived, so the viceroy appointed his own brother Dom

João d'Azevedo captain of Mozambique for one year, and recalled Dom Estevão d'Ataide. Nothing of any consequence had been done since his return to Tete, and in July 1613 Dom Estevão laid down the command and set out for India, but died at Mozambique on the way, leaving property in gold, ivory, &c., worth one hundred and ten thousand cruzados, which the judge Francisco da Fonseca Pinto, who had been sent from India to conduct the usual examination into his conduct, placed in safe keeping.* It was subsequently confiscated for the benefit of the royal treasury, and was used to pay for repairing the fortifications of Mozambique. The death of Dom Estevão saved him from the punishment often inflicted upon the unsuccessful, whether they were guilty of misconduct or not. On the 8th of March 1613 the king wrote to the viceroy to have him arrested and tried for furthering his own interests at Tete instead of proceeding with the conquest and for having taken to the Zambesi a hundred and fifty disciplined soldiers from Fort Sao Sebastião and left in their stead only forty or fifty recruits, whereas he was under obligation to maintain at Mozambique two hundred soldiers and to employ five hundred in the expedition in search of the mines. If he was found guilty of these offences he was to be sent to Portugal a prisoner in chains. This was the fate designed by the king for the man who had so gallantly defended Mozambique against the Dutch, but who had failed to carry out an engagement to raise an army when neither volunteers nor pressed men were to be had.

Diogo Madeira with the slender force under his command now undertook the enterprise in which two officers of superior rank and authority had failed. On the 10th of August 1613, having received transfer of the soldiers and a trifling quantity of military stores, he left Sena to proceed up the

* The chronicler of these events in one place incidentally states that eighteen maticals of gold were equal to nearly thirty cruzados, so that this amount would represent about £29,500. Whenever the cruzado of King Sebastião is meant it is termed a cruzado d'ouro.

river in boats, but had hardly set out when he encountered opposition. There was a clan living close to Sena under a chief named Tshombe, who during the recent disturbances had come under the protection of the Portuguese, and had agreed to pay as tribute a certain quantity of millet yearly. Seeing the weakness of his protectors now that the civil war in the country was ended, this man was disposed to assert his independence, and when the new commander called upon him to pay his tribute and to surrender some fugitive slaves whom he was harbouring, he refused to comply. He even attempted to prevent the flotilla passing up the river until a toll was paid to him, but was defeated in an engagement, and the boats proceeded onward.

As it was necessary to keep open the communication by the Zambesi with the sea, on his arrival at Tete Diogo Madeira raised as large an army as he could to proceed against Tshombe. It consisted of one hundred European and mixed-breed arquebusiers and six thousand Bantu warriors from the lands of Tete and Inyabanzo. With these he marched down the river bank and attacked his opponent, who was found entrenched in a very strong lager and well supplied with means of defence. The attack failed, and all the men that could be collected at Sena, consisting of forty arquebusiers and three thousand Kaffirs under a friendly chief named Kwitambo, were then summoned to assist. Again an attempt to take the lager by storm was unsuccessful, so it was besieged for over two months in the hope of starving the defenders. In an assault on the 16th of November some advantage was gained, and that night Tshombe and a few of his followers made their way through the blockading force and escaped. On Sunday the 17th of November the Portuguese obtained possession of the lager, and secured as spoil some ivory and loincloths of native manufacture, besides eight thousand adults and as many children, who were made slaves. Fifty soldiers was left in the lager to prevent its being reoccupied, and Tshombe was pursued until nearly all of his warriors were slain. The territory he had occupied

was then given to Kwitambo, who engaged to pay yearly tribute for it, and Diogo Madeira with his army returned to Tete.

Here he was gladdened by a message from the monomotapa that if he would pay the quantity of merchandise usually given by those entering office he might take possession of Tshicova in peace. Goods to the value of four thousand cruzados were at once forwarded, and in return a man of rank was sent by the Kalanga ruler to transfer the district supposed to contain the silver mines. Accordingly, on the 15th of April 1614 Diogo Madeira left Tete with a hundred soldiers, six hundred Bantu warriors, and a number of slaves carrying stores, and on the 8th of May reached Tshicova, where he set about building a fort or stockaded enclosure which he named São Miguel. The envoy of the monomotapa was with him, but could not point out a mine, and the chief of the locality fled as soon as the object of the expedition became known. On being applied to, the monomotapa sent a piece of silver ore weighing about a quarter of a kilogramme, and with it a man named Tsherema, who had found it at Tshicova; but Tsherema could only point out loose pieces of ore, not a mine. Diogo Madeira caused him to be beaten and imprisoned, but to no purpose, for he was never able to show his tormentors what they so much desired to see.

The northern bank of the Zambesi opposite Tshicova was occupied by an independent chief named Sapoe, who professed to be a friend of the Portuguese. He gave them permission to trade freely in his country, and offered them a road through it to Tete. Diogo Madeira availed himself of this, and a path was explored on the Bororo side of the river past the rapids of Kebrabasa to navigable water. With Sapoe's consent a stockade, named Santo Antonio, was built and occupied opposite São Miguel, so that the ferry was completely under Portuguese control. Fort Santo Estevão farther down on the southern side was destroyed, as there were no men to occupy it.

Being without means either to explore the country or even to feed those who were with him, as no aid of any kind had yet reached him from Portugal or India, on the 24th of June Diogo Madeira was compelled to leave for Tete and Sena, taking with him nearly the whole of his people. During his absence Diogo Teixeira Barros, with forty-four soldiers and some slaves, was entrusted with the defence of the stockades São Miguel and Santo Antonio. On arriving at Sena, instead of finding the assistance he was hoping for, Madeira received instructions from the king that he must send the soldiers brought by Dom Estevão d'Ataide back to Mozambique, as that island was in danger of being attacked. In consequence of this order thirty were despatched in a pangayo, all that could be mustered, as some had died and the others were at Tshicova. Nothing could illustrate better than this event the exhausted condition of Portugal at the time.

The captain still hoped that a supply of merchandise would be sent from India to enable him to carry on his work, so he resolved to keep the monomotapa in good humour by means of presents and to engage every resident along the river that would enter his service. He therefore sent the great chief a silken banner, a gold head ornament, and a small quantity of cloth, with a complimentary message; but as the whole was of trifling value it was regarded with contempt by the Kalanga ruler, who imprisoned the men that took it to him and made a demand for a number of articles that he named. To obtain these Diogo Madeira was obliged to compel such inhabitants of Sena as were in possession of goods to sell them to him on credit without any prospect of payment being ever made, and thus he created enemies when he sorely needed friends. The monomotapa, however, appeared to be appeased, and released his prisoners, so Madeira set out on his return to the stockade São Miguel with all the men and stores he had been able to collect.

Meantime Barros found himself in great difficulties at Tshicova. He was so badly in want of food that he was

compelled to take it by force from the blacks, which naturally aroused their enmity. Then the son of the monomotapa who had been baptized with the name of Philippe having displeased his father fled to Fort São Miguel and claimed protection. This was given to him, upon which the monomotapa sent an army to destroy the stockade. On the 18th of March 1615 it was attacked, but was successfully defended until the 20th, when Diogo Madeira arrived at Santo Antonio with the reinforcements he had collected, and while he was crossing the river with them the hostile army withdrew.

There was now a small band of Portuguese with a considerable number of slaves, having provisions for only a few months, in an advanced stockade in an enemy's country. A line of retreat was open by crossing the river and marching down its northern bank past the rapids, and then recrossing to Tete. There defence for a long time was possible, as a strong Bantu force could be raised from the subject clans and in the district of Inyabanzo, and in case of necessity the river would furnish conveyance to Sena and the sea. Under these circumstances Diogo Madeira decided to remain where he was until aid could reach him from Portugal or India. He sent the young chief Philippe to Tete, and provided for his maintenance there, as his friendship might be of importance at some future time. He then caused as thorough a search as was possible to be made by men who were without experience or special knowledge in the vicinity of the stockade, and though nothing that could be called a mine was discovered, the prisoner Tsherema pointed out a place where several loose pieces of rich silver ore were picked up, some weighing many kilogrammes.

To send specimens of these to Lisbon and to Goa, and thus to create such an interest in the undertaking as would cause sufficient assistance to be sent to him, was now the first object of Diogo Madeira. This was not so easy of accomplishment as might be supposed. It was believed that the jealousy of Ruy de Mello de Sampayo, who in 1615

became captain of Mozambique,* would be aroused by the intelligence, and that the specimens would probably never get beyond that island except as coming from him. To meet this difficulty Gaspar Bocarro, a faithful friend of Diogo Madeira, volunteered to go overland to some port high up on the eastern coast, and thence by way of the Red sea and the Mediterranean to Portugal. He was an old inhabitant of the country, and as he was wealthy he offered to perform this service at his own cost and in addition to contribute two thousand cruzados towards the maintenance of Fort São Miguel during his absence. At the same time the Dominican friar Francisco d'Avelar offered to proceed to India by way of Mozambique and thence to Portugal, trusting that his habit would protect him from interference on the way.

In February 1616 the two envoys set out, each taking with him a quantity of silver ore and attested certificates that it had been found at Tshicova. The friar reached Goa in safety, and after delivering a report to the viceroy, proceeded to Lisbon and thence to Madrid, where the specimens and documents which he produced caused great satisfaction to the king and the court.

* The following are the principal clauses of the contract entered into with him by the government at Lisbon, dated 17th of March 1614. His three years term of office was to commence on the day that he took formal possession of the fortress. He was to pay annually 40,000 xerafins of 300 reis each (about £7,500). All the expenses of the forts constructed for the defence of the trade, including the pay of the troops necessary for that purpose, were to be defrayed by him. The ordinary expenses of the fortress of Mozambique and of the hospital at that place were to be defrayed by him, but were to be deducted from the 40,000 xerafins, and the balance was to be sent to Goa. He was not to be present, personally or by representative, when the duty of one per cent was being levied on his merchandise. All the usual presents to the chiefs of the interior were to be sent by him, at the proper times, at his own cost. He was to take over his predecessor's stock of goods. He was to have the sole right to trade upon the banks of the rivers Zambesi and Sofala (the whole country southward being included). He was authorised to seize and appropriate any merchandise taken into the country without his permission.

Gaspar Bocarro, who was an experienced African traveller, took with him ten or twelve slaves to carry the specimens of ore, a quantity of beads, some calico, and a thousand bracelets of copper wire. With this merchandise he procured food, guides, and porters, and so made his way without difficulty from Tete to the southern extremity of Lake Nyassa. He crossed the Shire — called the Nhanha in his journal—in canoes close to its outflow from the lake,* and proceeding upward between the eastern side of Nyassa and the coast, was ferried over other rivers named the Ruambara and the Rofuma. Part of the country on his route was found still a desert waste, as it had been left by the Mazimba. On the fifty-third day after his departure from Tete he reached Kilwa, where he procured a conveyance to Mombasa. Here he found it would be impossible to go up the Red sea, on account of wars then being carried on in those parts, so with much regret he went to Mozambique and thence returned to the Zambesi.

While the envoys were on their way Diogo Madeira tried to make the best of matters at his stockades. He dared not go far from São Miguel, but in its vicinity more pieces of silver ore were found, which were sent down to Tete and exchanged for calico, so that he was able for a time to obtain provisions. In January 1616 he had been joined by the Dominican friar João dos Santos, who had petitioned to be sent from India to South-Eastern Africa as soon as he heard that the monomotapa Gasilusere had consented to two of his sons being educated as Christians. His experience, he thought, might even be instrumental in converting the

* This journey of Gaspar Bocarro does not detract in the least degree from the merit of the reverend Dr. Livingstone's discovery of Lake Nyassa. The great missionary traveller first saw the outflow of the Shire on the 16th of September 1859, two hundred and forty-three years after Bocarro was at the same spot. But the account given here was then buried in the Portuguese archives, and was entirely unknown to any one. Besides, though it is easy now to follow Bocarro's route from his description of it, it would have been impossible to do so before Dr. Livingstone's minute description of the country was published.

monomotapa himself. His provincial consented, and the king ordered his expenses to be defrayed by the royal treasury and that he should be employed on some official mission to the monomotapa that would add to his dignity and influence. Dos Santos was an old man when he reached the Zambesi again, and he must have been bitterly disappointed with the turn affairs had taken. He was, however, as full of zeal as in his younger years, and when a message reached him at Sena that the departure of Francisco d'Avelar would leave the defenders of the stockade São Miguel without a spiritual comforter, he did not hesitate, but proceeded up the river to the lonely post to minister to them and to share their discomforts.

Some time before the friar Francisco d'Avelar reached Goa with the specimens of silver ore, Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo had received bitter complaints from the traders whose merchandise Diogo Madeira had practically seized by force, and also from the residents of Mozambique concerning similar conduct by the captain Ruy de Mello de Sampayo. The viceroy, therefore, by the advice of the council of state, appointed the judge Francisco da Fonseca Pinto a commissioner to investigate matters in South-Eastern Africa, and gave him very large powers to settle disorder of every kind. He was also supplied with calico and beads for the expedition under Diogo Madeira, in case he should think it proper to assist that enterprise. The judge was accompanied by one of his friends named Salvador Vaz da Guerra. He arrived at Mozambique in March 1616, where he summarily dismissed Ruy de Mello de Sampayo from office, and appointed Da Guerra in his stead. He then went on to the Zambesi, and arrived at Kilimane in May.

By this time the garrison of Fort São Miguel was reduced to great distress. The summer had been so intensely hot that for weeks together to touch a stone exposed to the sun's rays caused the skin to blister, and sickness had prevailed to an alarming extent. Most of the able-bodied slaves had run away, those who remained could not venture

outside the stockade, and so great was the scarcity of food that if not relieved the place must soon be abandoned from hunger. There were only forty-four soldiers left to guard it. As soon therefore as Diogo Madeira heard that a commissioner with extensive powers had arrived at the rivers he wrote urging that assistance should be forwarded without delay, but received no reply.

Instead of sending at least some calico that food might be purchased with it, the judge passed a couple of months at Sena and Tete, exchanging the merchandise he had brought from India for gold and ivory. He was able to do this to unusual advantage, as for two years in succession the trading vessels from Mozambique had been lost, and calico and beads were in great demand. He listened to all the complaints against Diogo Madeira, and without a trial confiscated his property at Tete and made his nephew a prisoner. On the 1st of August 1616 he left Tete for Tshicova with a hundred and fifty soldiers and two thousand Kaffirs, but when he was within a day's march of Fort São Miguel Diogo Madeira, fearing to place himself in the power of a man who had acted in so hostile a manner, crossed the river to the stockade Santo Antonio, though he left the soldiers behind. On learning this, the judge at once returned to Tete.

All hope of retaining the position at Tshicova was now abandoned. The soldiers had parted with their shirts for food, and were half naked as well as more than half starved. Mass was said for the last time in the little structure used as a church, and then Dos Santos with a heavy heart stripped the altar of its ornaments and removed whatever could be taken away. Some slave women and children were first ferried over to Santo Antonio, the soldiers followed, and last of all Diogo Madeira himself bade farewell to the stockade he had held so long in hope of relief being sent to him. It was the 17th of August 1616. On the 18th Santo Antonio was in like manner abandoned, and the party commenced to march down the bank of the river. The

soldiers were so weak that two of them died before they reached the ferry below the rapids. Diogo Madeira retired to his district of Inyabanzo, where he remained for a time, and the others went to Tete.

The judge now pronounced the discovery of silver ore at Tshicova to be a fable, as the pieces found had probably been carried there from some other place, and he induced the soldiers to sign a document to that effect. Diogo Madeira he proclaimed an outlaw. The monomotapa, who had already destroyed the abandoned stockade São Miguel, sent an army against the unfortunate captain, and he was obliged to leave Inyabanzo and take refuge with the chief Kwitambo near Sena until the judge returned to Mozambique, when he went back to Tete an utterly ruined man. The Kalanga army overran Inyabanzo and the territory subject to Tete, until nothing was left to the Portuguese but the fort and the village adjoining it, and even these might have been lost if the residents had not appeased the monomotapa with presents.

The government at Lisbon disapproved of these proceedings, and instructions were sent to the viceroy to cause the judge Francisco da Fonseca Pinto to be tried by the inquisitor general of India for his conduct, to restore Ruy de Mello de Sampayo to the captaincy of Mozambique for the time wanting to complete his term of three years, and to place Diogo Madeira again in his former position, with means necessary to carry out his enterprise. In accordance with these instructions, in January 1618 some calico was sent from India, and when it reached Sena Diogo Madeira endeavoured to raise and equip another expedition. A few soldiers arrived from Mozambique to take part in it, but before anything of consequence could be done a complete change was made.

It was first resolved to form a separate government of South-Eastern Africa, as in the time of King Sebastião, and a new viceroy of India was appointed and left for Goa under this arrangement; but on the 10th of March 1618 the

king wrote to him that the plan had been abandoned. Instead of it a governor of Monomotapa was appointed, who was to reside at Tshicova and carry out the conquest of the district in which the mines were situated. Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira, then commander in chief at Ceylon, was the officer selected for the situation. He was to take with him the seasoned troops at Mozambique, whose places were to be supplied by recruits sent from Lisbon, and the viceroy was directed to aid him with trustworthy officers, soldiers, sailors, materials of war, and provisions, at the expense of the treasury of India. Skilled miners and smelters were to be sent from Portugal and also from India to search the country and develop its mineral wealth. Commerce was to be carried on by the royal treasury, and was to be under the control of Antonio de Maris Lobo, who was appointed overseer of the revenue of Monomotapa. Towards defraying the cost of all this, twenty-two thousand cruzados would be sent from Lisbon, with which merchandise was to be purchased and sent to the Zambesi, there to be used in providing for the conquest. The viceroy was to furnish presents for the monomotapa and other rulers in the country. Dom Luis de Menezes, or in his default Dom Alvaro da Costa, was to be appointed commander of the garrison of Mozambique, subordinate to the governor of Monomotapa, as the captain of Sofala was also to be. Diogo Simões Madeira was to be retained in favour, and was to be induced to assist in carrying out the conquest.

These instructions are a fair sample of those commonly sent by the king to India at this period. They were written as if almost unlimited resources were at the disposal of the viceroy, whereas it was frequently a matter of the greatest difficulty for him to meet the most essential expenses of his government. The royal orders therefore do not represent what was really done, or what could possibly be done, but merely what the viceroy, without any means to carry them out, was directed to do. In 1618 Portuguese India had not resources equal to effecting an extensive

conquest in South-Eastern Africa, even if it could have been done with two hundred soldiers, as an enthusiastic writer, Diogo da Cunha de Castelbranco, believed it might be, provided sufficient calico was supplied for presents to the chiefs.

In February 1619 Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira reached Goa from Ceylon, and soon afterwards sailed for Mozambique with as many men and as good an equipment as the viceroy could furnish him with, though both were inadequate for the task he had in hand. Pangayos were procured at the island, the men and stores were transferred to them, the seasoned troops in Fort São Sebastião were embarked, and the expedition left for the Zambesi. The details of events after its arrival cannot be given, as the reports and journals of occurrences have disappeared, and Bocarro's chronicle does not extend so far. But it succeeded no better than its predecessors, and no silver mine was found nor was a square metre of ground added to the Portuguese dominions by it.

In January 1620 two vessels were sent from Lisbon with supplies of different kinds for the expedition, and with instructions to Dom Nuno to fortify the entrances to the Zambesi, as the Dutch coveted the mines of Monomotapa and might at any time endeavour to get possession of them. This order could not be carried out for want of means. The Dutch frequently landed at places along the coast and traded with the inhabitants, chiefly for provisions, and it was out of the power of the Portuguese to prevent them doing so; but at this time they made no effort to occupy any part of South-Eastern Africa.

Two years later it was recognised in Portugal that the expedition was a failure, and that the expense of maintaining it was too great a drain upon the treasury to be continued. The trade too, as conducted by the government, had resulted only in loss. With the ships that left Lisbon early in 1622, therefore, instructions were sent by the king to the viceroy to recall Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira * to India and to desist

* This officer evidently thought something could be made in Africa, for a few years later he petitioned the king to grant him on feudal

from any further attempt to effect a conquest in the monomotapa's country. Everything was to revert to the former condition, when the captains of Mozambique, under the direction of the viceroy, had control of civil and military affairs, and held a monopoly of commerce south of the Zambesi on payment of forty thousand cruzados a year to the royal treasury and keeping up the establishments.

Nuno da Cunha was appointed captain under this system. He was directed to persevere in the effort to discover the silver mines, but by means of peaceful exploration and conciliation of the monomotapa. For this purpose not only were the presents made to that ruler according to ancient custom to be forwarded to him, but two horses with equipments and some fine cloth were to be added. Further two Portuguese who were particularly obnoxious to him were to be banished from the country. The knowledge and diligence of Diogo Simões Madeira, who had conducted himself in such a manner as to deserve favour, were to be made use of, and in addition to the often-repeated promise of the rank of a nobleman was now added that of a commandery with a revenue of two thousand cruzados a year if he should succeed in finding the silver mines and bringing them into working order. The new captain was to make enquiries about the mines from which the copper used by the Makalanga was obtained, and to ascertain whether they could be acquired and worked to advantage.

The order that the captain of Mozambique should use every effort to make these discoveries was frequently repeated during the following years. Diogo Madeira persevered in the endeavour, and though in 1624, owing to certain proposals that he made, he fell into disfavour with the viceroy, who intended to have him arrested and sent out of the country, the king continued to hold out tempting offers

tenure four hundred leagues of coast from Inhambane towards the Cape of Good Hope, of which he and his heirs should be hereditary captains. The petition was under consideration for a time, but eventually was rejected. We shall meet him again as captain of Mozambique.

to him if he should succeed. But no silver mines were ever discovered by the Portuguese along the Zambesi above Tete, nor was it ascertained whether the loose pieces of ore which beyond all doubt were found at Tshicova were there in situ or had been brought from some other locality.

While everything was thus in turmoil along the Zambesi the Dominicans were unable to carry on their mission work among the Makalanga, but they were active at Sena and Tete, and some of them accompanied the Portuguese forces wherever they went. In 1605 they had been reinforced from Europe, and by order of the king those who went out were not permitted to return again unless under special circumstances. When the first expedition under Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira was sent from India by the archbishop De Menezes some members of the Company of Jesus went with it, but the Dominicans, fearing complications, objected to their rivalry. The king therefore, on the 23rd of January 1610, issued instructions that they alone were to labour in Africa south of the Zambesi, still the Jesuits did not entirely withdraw, and at a little later date they were in considerable strength at Sena. For the support of the Dominicans Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira made considerable grants of land, though as these were still to be conquered their value was purely prospective. From the royal treasury the missionaries received such a trifling allowance that for their maintenance they were chiefly dependent on alms.

The design of King Sebastião half a century earlier concerning the ecclesiastical government of South-Eastern Africa was at this time carried into completion. On the 21st of January 1612 at the request of the king Pope Paul V separated the country from Cape Guardafui to the Cape of Good Hope from the archbishopric of Goa, and created the office of ecclesiastical administrator for it, with powers, however, somewhat less than those of an ordinary bishop. The friar Dom Domingos Terrado, titular bishop of Sale, was appointed to the office, with a yearly salary from the royal treasury of two hundred thousand reis, about £125 sterling.

The island of Mozambique, as the seat of the civil and military government, was selected as his place of residence.

At Sofala nothing of any consequence had happened for many years. Being in the territory of the kiteve and unaffected by occurrences in the monomotapa's country, commerce could be carried on with the Bantu just as when the friar João dos Santos lived there. Owing to fear of an attack by the Dutch, in 1615 the fort was put into repair, and thereafter fifteen or twenty soldiers were stationed in it as a garrison. The pangayo with goods from Mozambique once a year formed the principal means of communication with the outer world, though the little vessel that traded at Inhambane and Delagoa Bay every second or third year sometimes called on her passage up or down the coast. In all the world there could not have been a duller place of existence for Europeans.

The journey of Gaspar Bocarro from Tete to Kilwa had drawn the momentary attention of the king and his court to the country north of the Zambesi, but no steps whatever were taken to form stations in it or to open it to commerce by any other means than before. An order was indeed issued by the king that the captain Nuno da Cunha should endeavour to ascertain whether the lake (Nyassa) would not furnish a road to Abyssinia, but with that order the matter ended. The Portuguese were no longer a nation of explorers.

CHAPTER XIX.

EVENTS OF INTEREST FROM 1628 TO 1652.

THE great tribe over which the monomotapa ruled was about to be involved again in civil war, and the Portuguese traders at Sena and Tete were once more to acquire an influence in the country altogether out of proportion to their number, even if each one be regarded as a chief and his slaves as a clan of followers, which was practically their position. Kapranzine, son and successor of Gasilusere, showed himself most unfriendly to the Europeans. One of his near relatives, whose name is given by different writers as Manuza and Mavura, was possessed of much more intelligence, and had incurred his extreme jealousy. This man, under the instruction of the Dominican friar Manuel Sardinha, showed an inclination towards Christianity, and was therefore made much of by the Portuguese.

In November 1628 Jeronymo de Barros, an agent of Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira, who had recently assumed duty as captain of Mozambique, arrived at the great place, bringing with him the present which it was necessary to make to the monomotapa for the privilege of trading in his territory. Whether the quantity or quality of the merchandise forming the present was such as to cause Kapranzine to be dissatisfied is uncertain, at any rate immediately after receiving it he sent messengers through the country with orders that upon a certain day all the Portuguese and their friends were to be put to death. André Ferreira, the captain of the gates, who happened to be at the great place when this order was issued, was informed of it by some faithful servants, and that night with the Bantu who were

threatened he managed to get away to Masapa, where the stockade constructed by Diogo Carvalho was hastily prepared for defence. De Barros and his attendants were murdered, as they were unable to escape. Messengers were immediately sent out by Ferreira to warn the traders scattered over the country, and in a very short time all the Christians and their adherents — including Manuza — were collected either at Masapa or at Luanze, where another rude fort was built.

The monomotapa despatched a great force against these places, but as the defenders fought desperately for their lives, the assailants were beaten back. Several Europeans, however, fell. Meantime the Portuguese at Sena and Tete, having received intelligence of what was transpiring, assembled their people and raised an additional force of Batonga, at whose head they marched to Luanze to assist their countrymen. The defenders of the stockade were relieved, and then by advice of the friars in the camp a very decisive step was taken. Manuza was proclaimed monomotapa, the banner of the cross was raised, and the army, having elected a man named Manuel Gomes Serrão commander in chief, marched against Kapranzine. The two forces met, and Kapranzine was defeated.

The baffled monomotapa retired deeper into the country, and raised a still larger army, with which he returned and twice attacked the Christian camp, but on each occasion was beaten back. Then Manuza took possession of the great place, and was acknowledged as paramount chief by most of the surrounding clans.

On the 24th of May 1629 a document was drawn up, in which the new Kalanga ruler acknowledged himself a vassal of the king of Portugal. He promised to allow the missionaries to build churches and make converts anywhere in his country, to receive ambassadors without obliging them to go through humiliating ceremonies, to treat the captain of Masapa with great respect and to admit him to an interview at any time without a present, to open his country freely to

commerce, to protect traders, and not to shelter fugitive slaves. He undertook not to alienate gold mines to powerful chiefs, to allow mines of all descriptions to be sought for and worked by the Portuguese, and especially to enquire where silver was to be found, to inform the captain of Masapa of the places, and to allow the Portuguese to dig for it without any impediment. He engaged also to expel all the Mohamedans from his country within a year, and to permit the Portuguese afterwards to kill them and confiscate their property. He surrendered his claim to the lands at one time subject to the captain of Tete, and bound himself to send three pieces of gold to every new captain of Mozambique.

The whole army was drawn up, and the document having been read, Manuza was asked by the captain Serrão if he agreed to these conditions. Naturally he replied that he did. The friar Luis do Espirito Santo then wrote under it "Manuza, Emperor of Monomotapa," to which with his own hand he affixed a cross. Then followed the signatures of Manuel Gomes Serrão, chief captain in the war, Friar Gonçalo Ribeiro, vicar of Masapa, and sixteen other Portuguese. But it matters little with what formality the document was attested. It is evident that it was of very little value, for its terms—whether committed to writing or merely verbal—would be observed as long as Portuguese assistance was needed, and not a day longer.

A little later, eight months after he had been raised to the chieftainship, Manuza consented to profess Christianity openly, and was baptized with as much pomp as possible by the friar Luis do Espirito Santo, vicar of Tete. He received the name Philippe, which Portuguese writers thereafter used when mentioning him.

The government at Madrid regarded the document to which he had affixed his mark as of equal validity with an agreement between two European powers. In the opinion of the king the time had at last arrived when the mineral wealth of the Kalanga country was at his disposal, and pompous orders were issued to the viceroy of India to take

measures for the discovery and opening up of the gold, silver, and copper mines. He was also to build a stronghold in the best place to keep the monomotapa in submission, and the old instructions were repeated to fortify the mouths of the Kilimane and the Luabo. As the monomotapa was now a vassal, the presents formerly made for the privilege of carrying on commerce would no longer be required, and the money thus saved, together with the amount obtained for the lease of the islands of Angosha, could be used in defraying the cost of the fortifications. The three pieces of gold received as tribute were to be sent to the king, who would make a present to the monomotapa in return. That potentate was to be invested with the order of Christ, and permission was given to him to trade in cloth on his own account to the value of three or four thousand maticals of gold.

These instructions were issued by the king in April 1631. But matters were not yet settled in the Kalanga country, and thus, even if he had possessed the means in men and money to carry them out, the viceroy was unable at the time to do anything. Manuza, after occupying the great place and receiving the homage of a number of clans, neglected to watch Kapranzine closely, and the result was a sudden surprise, in which nearly the whole of the Europeans and half-breeds in the country and a great number of Bantu were killed, and the friars Luis do Espirito Santo and João da Trindade were made prisoners. The last named was badly wounded, but the barbarians subjected him to torture, and finally before he was quite dead threw him over a precipice where he was dashed to pieces. Luis do Espirito Santo, who was a native of Mozambique, was taken into Kapranzine's presence, and was ordered to make the usual obeisance. This he refused to do, as he said that to such homage God alone was entitled. He was then bound to the trunk of a tree, and stabbed with assagais till life was extinct. All the Bantu who were made prisoners were likewise put to death.

Kapranzine appeared now to be master of the situation. Many of the clans that had submitted to Manuza went over

to him, and the few Portuguese that remained—only twenty at Sena, thirteen at Tete, five at one trading station, and six and a Jesuit father at another—were too disheartened at the moment to attempt anything. The tshikanga also, ruler of Manika, declared in favour of Kapranzine, and sent an army to support him.

Diogo de Sousa e Menezes was then captain of Mozambique, Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira having died. He called out every man that could carry an arquebus, and sailed with them to the Zambesi, where he raised a large force of Bantu warriors from those living on the island of Luabo. Having brought the disturbed districts adjoining Sena into subjection, he marched to Manika, where he overthrew the unfriendly tshikanga, put him to death, and raised one of his brothers, who made a profession of Christianity and was baptized, to be chief as a vassal of Portugal. In the mean time the friar Manuel Sardinha, a man of great force of character, had got together an army of twenty thousand men, chiefly from the tribes along the Zambesi who were at feud with the Makalanga, and who were willing therefore to espouse the cause of Manuza. The two forces joined and marched against Kapranzine. The friar who was the chronicler of these occurrences relates that when they were setting out Philippe—as Manuza was called—looked up and saw a resplendent cross in the sky. Thereupon he sent for the father Manuel Sardinha, who was not with him at the time, but who also saw the cross on joining him. It was similar to that which appeared before the emperor Constantine, except that there were no words beneath it.

It may have been that some fleecy white clouds drifting across the deep blue African sky appeared to the heated imaginations of the friar and the Kalanga chief to assume the form of a cross, for it is not likely that a deliberate untruth was placed on record by the Dominican missionary who reported this event. Be that as it may, the apparition is said to have given such courage to the whole body of warriors, all of whom saw it, that they marched on with

the greatest confidence. On the feast of Saint John the two armies met, and a tremendous battle was fought, in which, according to the account of the Portuguese captain, the saint himself appeared and assisted the Christian cause. A brilliant victory was won, the carnage being so great that no fewer than thirty-five thousand of the enemy were slain It will not do to be certain about the number of the killed but the defeat of Kapranzine and his flight are assured facts.

Much booty in women, children, and cattle was obtained. Kapranzine's son of highest rank, a young boy, was among the prisoners. He was sent to Goa, where he was entrusted by the viceroy to the Dominican fathers, by whom he was baptized with the name Miguel, and educated and maintained by the royal treasury.

The hostile monomotapa, however, was not utterly overthrown. He had still the support of a very able chief named Makamoasha and many others of less note, and he gave a great deal of trouble before the war was ended. It must be remembered that no force supplied by the Portuguese government, other than a few men from Mozambique, was in the field. The contest was between two members of the ruling family of the Kalanga tribe for the paramount chieftainship, and the weaker of the two was aided by a little band of Portuguese missionaries and other residents in the country. But these few white men and half-castes were able to turn the scale in favour of the chief whose cause they adopted, because they could obtain the service of warriors of other and braver tribes who would follow them out of a desire to wash their assagais in Kalanga blood, and because they could procure firelocks and gunpowder. In the final battle, which ended in complete victory for Manuza, as many as two hundred men on his side were armed with Portuguese weapons.

The Dominican friars regarded the contest as a holy war, for it was certain that if Kapranzine was successful their work in the Kalanga country would cease. The part taken

by Manuel Sardinha has been related. Another friar, Damião do Espirito Santo, was equally active in raising men, and it was by a force of six thousand robust warriors brought into the field by him that Philippe — or Manuza — was at length firmly secured in the position of monomotapa. The Portuguese laymen and the mixed breeds served their own interests when aiding him, because by that means alone was it possible for them to continue there as traders. Their position at this time was better than at any previous period since the first occupation of the country, for Kapranzine, though in very reduced circumstances, was still alive, and Manuza, being dependent on them, was obliged to bestow whatever favours they chose to ask. The former trading stations were reoccupied, and new ones were established at Matuka, Dambarare, Tshipiriviri, Umba, and Tshipangura, situated in different parts of the country.

The Dominican missionaries also were able to extend their work greatly. A commencement was made with the erection of a church at Manuza's place of residence, in recognition of the help which he had received from the Almighty against his opponent, and the chief himself laid the foundation stone in presence of a great assembly of people. The friar Aleixo dos Martyres took up his residence there, and nine others of the same order came from Goa and were stationed at various trading places. The vicar general, Manuel da Cruz, removed from Tete to Matuka in the district of Manika, in order to be in a more central position. At Luanze a neat church was built, but at the other trading stations it was only possible to construct buildings of wattles covered with clay.

The Dominicans were naturally affected by the prostration of the wealth and power of Portugal, but they had a reserve force which supported them for a time. The most intelligent and energetic individuals in the kingdom, looking with despair upon the apathy and feebleness that had taken hold of the great mass of their countrymen, sought refuge in convents, where a life of activity and usefulness was

still open to them. General poverty alone prevented these institutions being more generally resorted to. At a little later date considerable numbers of Asiatics and Africans were admitted into the Dominican order, under the mistaken idea that they would be able to exert more influence in their respective countries than Europeans could, and then a failure of energy set in; but during the first half of the seventeenth century most of the missionaries south of the Zambesi were white men.

There were complaints against some of them that they were practically traders, but as a whole they worked zealously for the conversion of the Bantu, though at times they suffered even from want of food. Their observations upon the people among whom they were living are highly interesting. They state, for instance, that the Makalanga did not object to a profession of Christianity, but could not be induced to follow its precepts, especially in the matter of not taking more wives than one. The slight regard in which chastity of females was held surprised them, and they were particularly astonished that the men seemed almost indifferent to the misconduct of their wives. They noticed too that in war the men did not scruple to shield themselves behind their women, just as the Basuto often did in our times in their conflicts with the Orange Free State. Seeing these things, they set their hopes chiefly upon the children, whom they took great pains to instruct.

A better opportunity than ever before was now offered to search for mines, and rich specimens of several metals were forwarded to Lisbon. In none of the records still preserved and available for use, however, is there any trace of the ancient underground workings having been discovered. To assist in the search a few miners were sent out at the cost of Dom Philippe Mascarenhas, though he protested against the charge as not being mentioned in his contract, and because he was then giving as much for the monopoly of commerce south of the Zambesi every year, namely forty thousand pardaos, as his predecessors had

given for their whole term of office, besides maintaining the garrison of Mozambique, defraying all other expenses connected with the administration, and paying twenty per cent customs duties on the merchandise he imported from India.

The government at Madrid was of course highly elated with the prospect of wealth, and the most fantastic schemes were devised for opening up the country. Colonisation even was to be undertaken on a large scale. Thus, on the 24th of February 1635 the king wrote to the viceroy that two hundred soldiers and two hundred families of colonists would be sent from Portugal that year to settle along the Zambesi, and that others would follow with every fleet. They were to be accompanied by physicians, surgeons, women and girls from charitable institutions, and mechanics of all kinds, even to a gun founder. More Dominican and Jesuit missionaries would also proceed to the country, as well as some Capuchins. Two hundred mares would be sent, that horse-breeding might be carried on. A large quantity of artillery and other material of war would also be forwarded. On reading documents like this, so absurd do they appear from the condition of Portugal at the time, that one is inclined to doubt whether they were really intended to be serious state papers, or whether they merely represented the day dreams of children. At any rate the whole scheme came to nothing.

At the same time the viceroy was directed to have the search for mines carried on diligently, and to change the method of government of South-Eastern Africa. He was to appoint a governor of Monomotapa, subordinate to himself, and a castellan of Mozambique, subject to the governor. The system of carrying on trade was also to be altered. For a long time the king and his court had been endeavouring to devise some means of recovering the commerce of India from the English and Dutch, and in 1629 and following years an effort had been made to form a powerful Company for the purpose, in which the national treasury was to be the

principal participant, and the cities of Portugal and India, as well as individuals, were to be shareholders. There was to be a chamber in Goa to manage local matters, but the controlling power was to be vested in a board of directors at Lisbon. The effort to form such a Company, however, had failed; and now the king instructed the viceroy to throw open the commerce of South-Eastern Africa to all his subjects upon payment of customs duties. This order for some unknown reason was not carried into execution.

The subject of fortifications was also dealt with. In 1632, owing to a report that the English were fitting out an expedition to survey the East African coast, the king announced that a couple of small vessels would be sent from Lisbon to Sofala with men and munitions of war to protect that place, and that the outgoing fleet would convey reinforcements to Mozambique. It had become a custom to employ convicts in oversea service, so that by emptying the prisons a few men could be had at any time. But Sofala remained without a garrison, notwithstanding this announcement. A couple of years later an engineer named Bartholomeu Cotão was sent with a few assistants from Lisbon, some Indian carpenters were despatched from Goa, and at last a small fort of stakes and earth was constructed at Kilimane. This was the most that could be done, but in the king's letter of the 24th of February 1635 the viceroy was instructed to fortify Sofala strongly and station a garrison of two hundred soldiers there, and also to cause the mouths of the Zambesi to be well protected with defensive works. Such instructions, it must be repeated, were altogether illusory.

A report upon the condition of the country at this time, to be found in manuscript in the library of the British Museum, is particularly interesting, from the care which was taken in its preparation. It was drawn up in 1634 by order of the count of Linhares, viceroy of India, by his secretary Pedro Barreto de Rezende, who had visited the places he describes, and it was submitted for revision to

PHOTOGRAPH OF PLAN OF SOFALA IN 1634.

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Antonio Bocarro, keeper of the archives at Goa, before it was sent to King Philippe III of Portugal.

Sofala is described in it as having a square fort of stone nine metres in height, with circular bastions at the corners, and nine small pieces of artillery on the walls. It was without other garrison than the captain and his servants, and had no stores either of provisions or materials of war. In the village adjoining it three married and two single Portuguese resided, who with their slaves and a few mixed breeds were its only defenders in case of war. The fort and village were on an island at high tide, formed by the river and a broad trench, as shown in the plan accompanying the description; but at low tide the trench was dry. A Dominican friar resided in the village, but there were very few Christian Bantu. The only commerce carried on was in ivory and ambergris. The kiteve, in whose dominions the fort was situated, had ten or twelve thousand warriors at his command, but was in general friendly to the Portuguese, and on payment of the usual quantity of merchandise allowed them to trade in freedom and safety.

Sena was a much more important place, though the old fort was out of repair and almost destroyed. There were thirty married Portuguese and mixed breeds in the village, who owned a large number of slaves, and there were no fewer than four churches, with religious of the Dominican order and the Company of Jesus. The principal building was the factory, which was under a tiled roof. It was a great warehouse, in which the goods of the captain of Mozambique were stored, and where merchandise was sold wholesale to the traders who traversed the country. There were two dwelling houses under tiles, all the others being thatched. Along the river up and down were great tracts of land, occupied by fully thirty thousand Bantu, that had been assigned to individual Portuguese, who, however, did not derive much benefit from them, as most of the Bantu were disobedient. This system was in accordance with feudal ideas, the persons to whom the districts were assigned

having extensive powers wherever the Bantu were submissive, but being themselves vassals of the captain of Sena. Among the owners of districts in this way was the Dominican order, whose claim was confirmed by the king in 1638.

At Tete there were twenty married Portuguese residents and a few half-breeds, all living within a kind of fort, which consisted of a wall a little over two metres high with six bastions, on which a few small pieces of artillery were mounted. They had many slaves under their control. Adjoining Tete were lands occupied by about eight thousand Bantu, parcelled out among individual Portuguese, like those connected with Sena.

Scattered over Manika and the country of the monomotapa were numerous so-called forts, which were really only palisaded enclosures or earthen walls, occupied by traders and their servants. At most of these Dominican friars also resided, who occupied themselves with the conversion of the Bantu. By the king's orders this field was open to them alone, though the Jesuits, who occupied Kilimane and the country to the northward, were permitted to have an establishment at Sena, and often evaded the command and stationed missionaries with the Makalanga. By a royal order the Dominicans were entitled to tithes in the country south of the Zambesi. The Jesuits had a large estate assigned to them on the island of Luabo, between two mouths of the great river, which was regarded as being within their sphere of action. The only soldiers in the whole country were thirty men who accompanied the monomotapa wherever he went, nominally as a body-guard to protect him and add to his dignity, really, it may be believed, to keep watch upon his movements.

There were still a good many Mohamedans scattered about, and they were regarded by the Portuguese as in general irreconcilable enemies. Those on the island of Luabo were said to be behaving well, but those in the monomotapa's territories had aided Kapranzine, and after his defeat were

reduced to abject circumstances. It had not been found possible to expel them.

The only courts of law open to Portuguese subjects in the country south of the Zambesi at this time were those of the captains of Sofala, Sena, and Tete. These officials were appointed by the captain of Mozambique, who selected them from the circle of his friends more to promote his interests in trade and to ward off hostilities with the Bantu whenever they could do so, than with an eye to their qualifications as magistrates. Under these circumstances it cannot be supposed that justice was at all times administered. There was, however, a right of appeal from the sentences of the captains to the judge at Mozambique, which may have prevented gross abuses.

This is the picture of Portuguese South Africa given by the most competent writer of his day, and certainly it differs greatly from that presented by the royal despatches.

Some wrecks which took place on the South African coast during these years furnish matter of sufficient interest to be preserved in history. That of the *São João Baptista* in 1622, and those of the *Nossa Senhora da Atalaya* and the *Sacramento* in 1647, will be referred to by me at sufficient length in a chapter upon the Xosa tribe in another volume; but two others remain, the narratives of which may here be given.

On the fourth of March 1630 the *São Gonçalo*, commanded by Captain Fernão Lobo de Menezes, sailed from Goa for Lisbon. On the passage she became leaky, and in the middle of June put into Bahia Fermosa—Plettenberg's Bay as now termed—in a sinking condition, to be repaired. For this purpose some of her cargo was landed, and more would have been if the officers had not shown themselves quarrelsome and incompetent for their duties. Some of the crew took up their residence on shore, but the greater number remained on board. Fifty days after her arrival in the bay the ship was lying at anchor off the mouth of the Pisang river when she was struck by a storm and driven ashore,

one hundred and thirty-three persons perishing in the wreck. The captain, five friars, and about a hundred men were on land at the time, and fortunately they were able to collect a quantity of provisions and a good supply of carpenter's tools when the storm ceased. In anticipation of being obliged to remain there until the change of the monsoon in September or October, they had made a garden, from which they obtained such vegetables as pumpkins, melons, onions, and cucumbers. From the bay they drew supplies of fish, and from the Hottentots, who were very friendly, they bartered a number of horned cattle and sheep for pieces of iron. They were thus enabled to put by much of the rice that had been landed before the wreck and such food in casks as drifted ashore, while they were building two large boats in which to make their escape.

The captain was old and feeble, so with his consent they elected Roque Borges to be their commander. There was plenty of good timber in the forest close by, and as much iron as they needed was obtained from fragments of the ship. For tar they used benzoin, recovered from the cargo, and mixed with the oil of seals, which they killed in great numbers on an islet off the mouth of the river. Having plenty of food they lived in comparative comfort, and they were not forgetful of the worship of God, for they built a chapel in which religious services were frequently held. Eight months passed away before the boats were completed and ready for sea. When all was prepared for sailing the friars erected a wooden cross on the site of their residence, and a rude inscription was engraved on a block of sandstone, recording the loss of the ship and the building of the pinnaces. Part of this stone was removed some years ago from the summit of a hill a little to the eastward of the mouth of the Pisang river, and is now in the South African Museum in Capetown.

Some of the people wished to proceed to Angola, others thought it would be better to return to Mozambique, so the two boats steered in opposite directions. The one reached

Mozambique safely, the other after a few days fell in with the homeward-bound ship *Santo Ignacio Loyola*, and her people were received on board. But these were less fortunate than the others, for they perished when near their homes by the loss of the ship that had apparently saved them.

The wreck of the *Nossa Senhora de Belem* was in many respects similar to that of the *São Gonçalo*. Where every one, as in Goa at that time, regarded bribery and corruption as the natural means of acquiring wealth, even a ship could not be sent to sea in a condition fit for a long passage. She would be repaired with rotten timber, her caulking would be defective, her rigging and stores would be of an inferior description. Thus the *Nossa Senhora de Belem*, commanded by Captain José de Cabreyra, sailed from Goa for Lisbon on the 24th of February 1635 shorthanded and quite unfit for navigation in stormy seas. As usual, a large proportion of those on board were negro slaves.

The ship soon became so leaky that it was with the greatest difficulty she could be kept afloat, and when she reached the South African coast the only hope of saving the lives of those on board was in running her ashore. Somewhere north of the mouth of the Umzimvubu river —the exact spot cannot be made out—she lay almost water-logged close to the coast, when a boat was got out, and the captain landed with a few men to look for a place where she could be beached with the least danger. Night came on, and some Kaffirs appeared, who attacked the little party, but they were easily driven away. In the morning those on board, fearing every moment that the ship would go down with them, waited no longer for the captain's signal, but ran her ashore, and fortunately for them she held together, so that no lives were lost.

Two hundred and seventy-two individuals, among whom were five friars, were now safe on land. For seventeen days they were engaged in getting provisions, tools, and other articles out of the wreck; then by an accident, either

from the party that had been on board during the day having left a candle burning or a fire in the stove, she caught alight and the whole upper part was consumed. This, however, turned out to be an advantage rather than a misfortune, as an abundance of nails and other iron was now easily obtained from the charred timber.

There was much difference of opinion as to the best course to be pursued, but at length they agreed to build a couple of small vessels and try to get to Angola. There was a river close by that offered a favourable site for a shipyard, and plenty of timber was to be had in the neighbourhood, so on the 20th of July they set about the task. Soon afterwards they were cheered by the appearance of a cabra, that is the son of a mulatto by a black woman, who called himself a Portuguese, and in broken language told them that his name was Antonio and that he had been wrecked in the *Santo Alberto* and left there by Nuno Velho Pereira's party that went to the north more than forty years before, when he was a boy. He was now wealthy and a man of influence. He was accompanied by a chief with a band of attendants, with whom an agreement of friendship was made. Through Antonio's influence and assistance no fewer than two hundred and nineteen head of cattle were obtained in barter for pieces of iron, which not only furnished plenty of fresh meat for the time being, but abundance of biltong, or strips of dried flesh, for provisioning the boats. After a time the shipwrecked men suspected Antonio of hostility, and there was some trouble with the Bantu; but their wants had then been supplied, and they were too strong to be attacked.

Six months were occupied in building and fitting out the vessels, which were decked and of such beam that they could carry the whole of the people. They were provisioned with eighty small bags of rice and a quantity of biltong. On the 28th of January 1636 they sailed from the river, but found the weather rough on the coast, and during the second night after leaving one of them disappeared and was

not seen again. The other, in which was Captain De Cabreyra, put into Algoa Bay on the passage, and forty-eight days after leaving the river reached Bengo Bay, close to the town of São Paulo de Loanda, with her provisions exhausted and without a drop of fresh water left. There, just in time, those on board were rescued from death by starvation and thirst, and soon afterwards they dispersed to different parts of the world.

In 1640 the revolution in Portugal took place which elevated the eighth duke of Bragança to the throne as King João IV. Margarida, duchess of Mantua, was then governing Portugal for Philippe III—the 4th of Spain,—and her court was almost entirely composed of Spanish grandees, who treated the Portuguese nobles with such disdain as to rouse their passion. The people were discontented, and attributed the poverty and distress they were suffering to the Castilian yoke which lay heavy upon them. Though under the same head for sixty years, they had never fraternised with the Spaniards, and the loss of their most valuable eastern possessions, which had been the result of the political union of the two countries, was ever in their minds.

The time was opportune for a revolution. The Catalans were in insurrection, and France could be depended upon to favour anything that would weaken the power of Spain. A number of Portuguese noblemen then conspired to eject the hated dynasty. On the 1st of December 1640 they seized the palace and forts in Lisbon and the Spanish armed ships in the Tagus, and made the duchess of Mantua a prisoner. A few of the Castilian officials were killed in the first moments of the rising, but most of them were merely placed in safe confinement. The duke of Bragança, though timid and half reluctant, had then no option but to ascend the throne, for he was the legitimate heir of the ancient kings, and his life would not have been worth a week's purchase if Philippe should recover his authority. On the 15th of December he was crowned in the cathedral of Lisbon, and the cortes, which met as soon as possible, unanimously took

an oath of allegiance to him on the 19th of January 1641. The whole country declared in his favour, the Spanish garrisons were expelled, and Portugal again took her place among the nations of Europe as an independent power. War with Spain followed as a matter of course, but João IV found powerful allies among the northern rulers, his people sprang to arms, and he was able to preserve the throne on which his descendants sit to this day.

In India tidings of the successful revolution were received with the greatest joy. The silly orders of the Castilian monarchs sent through the regency at Lisbon, and the affectation of boundless wealth and numberless men being at the disposal of the viceroy, must have disgusted the officials everywhere. From the new monarch they had reason to expect instructions dictated by common sense, and indeed in his first letters to the viceroy he spoke plainly of his empty treasury and of the necessity there would be of observing the strictest economy in every part of his dominions. Then he was their own countryman, and blood cements loyalty.

Among the first of foreign powers to recognise him was the Republic of the United Netherlands, and on the 12th of June 1641 a truce for ten years was concluded between the two governments, in which, among other clauses, was one defining the Portuguese possessions in South-Eastern Africa that were thereafter to be respected by the Dutch. They were Mozambique, Kilimane, the rivers of Kuama, Sena, Sofala, Cape Correntes, and the adjacent rivers, by which were meant Imhambane and the bay of Lourenço Marques. This truce was broken a few years later through events that took place in Brazil, but while it was observed it was of much importance to the new king. It gave him sympathy and some practical assistance from the Dutch people in his struggle with Spain, and it freed the eastern possessions that were left to him from fear of attack, of which they had before been apprehensive. The king indeed was led even to hope that some of the ancient conquests, particularly Malacca, might be restored to Portugal. Still he was not without

some uneasiness when he reflected upon the defenceless condition of his dominions on the borders of the Indian sea, the activity of the Dutch in that part of the world, and his inability to afford any assistance, owing to his empty treasury. He therefore instructed the viceroy to keep a close watch upon the movements of the Dutch, but to act with the greatest caution, and to avoid everything that might irritate or offend any one.

The measures adopted by the government of King João IV with regard to South-Eastern Africa were not productive of good, however, much as the more honest and sensible tone of his despatches is to be admired. In December 1643 commerce between Portugal and India was declared free and open to all his subjects, with the single exception of the trade in cinnamon, which was reserved as a royal monopoly. This, to Englishmen of the present day, will appear a liberal measure. But there are circumstances when the admission of all persons under the same government to equal commercial rights may prove utterly ruinous to the class that ought to be encouraged most, and it would have been so in this instance in the country south of the Zambesi if the existing contracts with the prospective captains of Mozambique had not prevented its coming into operation for several years, and if in the mean time other measures had not been adopted. This will be dealt with more fully in another chapter.

In 1644 the slave trade between Mozambique and Brazil was opened by individual adventurers with the king's permission and encouragement. In these days such traffic is justly regarded with the greatest horror, but during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries not a voice appears to have been raised against it. It certainly was not looked upon as cruel or immoral to remove negroes from an environment of barbarism to a condition of subjection to Christian masters. The system brought upon the lands to which the slaves were taken a terrible and perpetual punishment, which ought to have been foreseen, but was not, or at least was disregarded

in the prospect of immediate gain. The proprietors of the prazos, or great estates, along the Zambesi had now a new source of wealth opened to them. Hitherto they had regarded the captives obtained in war and reduced to slavery as personal followers, and employed them as traders, soldiers, attendants, and so forth, he who had the greatest number being esteemed as the most wealthy and powerful. The blacks readily fell in with this system, which appeared to them natural and proper; and in general they were found faithful. It gave them what they needed: some one to think for them, some one to direct and look after them.

But after 1644 all this was changed. The Batonga and Makalanga who were made captives were considered as worth so many maticals of gold a head, and any that the owners did not care to keep were sent to Mozambique for sale, to serve in ships like the less intelligent Makua or to be conveyed to Brazil to work on plantations, in either case to be severed for life from early associations and companions. As time went on the abominable traffic grew larger and larger, until it became far the most important in money value of all the commerce of the Zambesi basin. There could be no extension of agriculture, no mining, no progress of any kind where it was so extensively carried on.

In 1644 there was a war between the kiteve and a chief named Sakandemo, in which the Portuguese took part on the side of the former. The result was the defeat of Sakandemo, the baptism of the kiteve with the name Sebastião, and his promise to regard himself thereafter as a vassal of Portugal. But conversions of this kind, however gratifying to the vanity of the Europeans, and especially of the clergy, were of no real value, and such promises of vassalage by men possessing any real power were not carried into practice.

The sparseness of the European population made the possession of the country extremely insecure, for no troops could be provided to guard it. But how or where could settlers be obtained? Not in Portugal, for there were much more attractive places than South-Eastern Africa before the

eyes of the peasantry there. Not voluntarily in India, as had been proved by the viceroy's invitations and tempting offers to migrate having had no effect. And so they were sent involuntarily. After the middle of the seventeenth century what colonisation was effected on the banks of the Zambesi was largely the result of criminals being sentenced by the supreme court at Goa to become residents there. If morality before this had been low, hereafter it sank to a point seldom reached elsewhere by Europeans.

At this time our countrymen began to frequent the coast, as the Dutch, notwithstanding repeated orders to prevent them from trading with the inhabitants, had previously done, and English adventurers soon became a source of much uneasiness to the government at Lisbon. The first difficulty connected with them occurred in 1650, when an English trading vessel arrived at Mozambique. Alvaro de Sousa was then captain, and finding that he could do a profitable business with the strangers, he purchased a quantity of goods from them, hoping that the transaction would never be discovered. When the head of the local government acted in this manner, it may well be believed that the subordinate officials and the residents in the village, who had the right of trading with the Bantu on the mainland, were equally dishonest. The matter came to the knowledge of the king, but the death of Alvaro de Sousa prevented the punishment that would otherwise have been inflicted upon him. Orders were again issued, strictly prohibiting commercial intercourse with strangers, who were to be permitted to take in fresh water and to purchase necessary refreshments, but nothing more.

On the 25th of May 1652 the monomotapa Manuza—or Philippe—died. He had not renounced Christianity and had always kept on the best terms with the Portuguese, acknowledging himself a vassal of the king, protecting traders, and making numerous grants of prazos to individuals. He could not do otherwise while Kapranzine lived, nor while Kapranzine's son of highest rank, the heir

to the chieftainship in the direct line, was practically a prisoner in Goa. This young man had entered the Dominican order, and applied himself most assiduously to study, so that, according to the chronicler, he was by his example the most powerful preacher in the country. In 1670 the general of the order sent him the diploma of Master in Theology, equivalent to Doctor of Divinity, and this man, born a barbarian, heir to the most important chieftainship in Southern Africa, died as vicar of the convent of Santa Barbara in Goa. Fiction surely has no stranger story than his.

Manuza's successor adhered to the old Bantu faith, and in consequence the Dominicans were in much distress, as their work seemed likely to be thrown back seriously. Great was the pleasure therefore which they felt when the new chief, under the teaching of the friar Aleixo do Rosario, announced his conversion, and requested to be baptized. His example was followed by a multitude of the sub-chiefs and others. On the 4th of August 1652 these were all received into the church, the monomotapa taking the name Domingos and his great wife Luiza. The intelligence of this event created a joyful sensation in Europe. At Rome the master-general of the order caused special services to be held, and had an account of the baptism engraved in the Latin language on a bronze plate. At the Dominican convent in Lisbon there was a grand thanksgiving service, which was attended by King João IV and all his court, for the event was regarded as one of the greatest triumphs of Christianity, as well as a consolidation of Portuguese rule in South Africa.

Such an opinion, however, was altogether erroneous, for in this same year, 1652, the Dutch East India Company formed a settlement in Table Valley, which was destined to have a vastly greater effect upon the southern portion of the continent than the Portuguese occupation of the eastern coast, that had now lasted nearly a century and a half.

BAPTISM OF THE MONOMOTAPA.

Photograph from a picture in the Dominican House, Rome.

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CHAPTER XX.

WEAKNESS OF PORTUGUESE RULE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THE Portuguese dependencies on the eastern coast of Africa below the Zambesi were already exhibiting all the marks of decrepitude and decay. The Portuguese nation was almost exhausted, the blood of the peasantry in its southern provinces had become degraded, and the chief sources of its wealth were for ever lost. This condition of things in the kingdom itself was reflected in its dependencies over sea, and in none of them to a greater extent than in those treated of in these volumes.

King João IV, the first monarch of the house of Bragança, died on the 6th of November 1656, leaving a son named Affonso, only thirteen years of age, heir to the throne. The queen dowager, a woman of unusual ability and force of character, then became regent, and held that office until the 21st of June 1662, when Affonso VI became king. His sister, Catherine of Bragança, only a few weeks before had been married to Charles II of England. A close connection between the two countries was thus commenced, which was of great advantage to Portugal by giving her assistance in her war with Spain, and which led some years later to important commercial arrangements. For more than a quarter of a century Spain strove to suppress what was termed at Madrid the rebellion of the duke of Bragança, but at length a series of victories gained by the Portuguese with the assistance of their foreign friends made the attempt hopeless, and on the 13th of February 1668 peace was concluded by a treaty in which the independence of Portugal under the sovereigns of her choice was fully

recognised. The character of Affonso VI was a compound of imbecility and brutality: he was one of the most worthless individuals that ever sat upon a throne. On the 23rd of November 1667 he was forced into retirement, and his brother Dom Pedro, duke of Beja, became regent. Sixteen years later Affonso died, and the regent then became King Pedro II. The Portuguese regard him as one of the best and most prudent of their sovereigns, though there was nothing particularly brilliant or even enterprising in his nature.

During the seventeenth century a general disintegration of the Bantu tribes between the Zambesi and Sabi rivers was taking place, and individual Portuguese who were possessed of ability, though they were devoid of anything like high morality, were busily engaged in forming new clans under their own control. The process commenced when the legitimate monomotapa Kapranzine was deposed, and it was furthered when the tshikanga was defeated and slain. The Batonga along the Zambesi were the first to be influenced by it. They had no affection for the Kalanga rulers, nor had those rulers any attachment to them, so that Portuguese who performed any service for the monomotapa could readily obtain from him grants of land more extensive than the largest county in England. The people on these lands as a rule submitted to the new head as long as he governed them in accordance with their ideas, and rebelled when he did not, but in the course of a few years his authority was usually firmly established. He was then to all intents and purposes a Kaffir chief, possessing absolute power over his people.

Father Manuel Barreto, superior of the Jesuit college at Sena, reported to the viceroy in 1667 that nearly the whole of the territory in the triangle formed by the river Zambesi, the sea coast, and a straight line drawn from Tshicova to Sofala, was thus held by individual Portuguese, though many of its Batonga inhabitants were in rebellion. Some of the prazos, as the districts were termed, were, he

said, the size of kingdoms, especially those held by Antonio Lobo da Silva, Manuel d'Abreu, André Collaço, and Manuel Paez de Pinho. The last named had among his subjects the whole of the old tribe of Mongasi. But Kaffir chiefs as they were, these men wished to be considered Portuguese subjects, and were ambitious of holding office and obtaining titles of distinction from the crown. They professed even to hold their prazos from the king under grants for three lives, on payment of quitrent and performing military service with their followers when called upon to do so. The whole of the quitrent, however, that flowed into the royal treasury from this source amounted to little more than six hundred maticals of gold, or £268 2*s.* 6*d.*, a year. The holders of the prazos were constantly quarrelling, and at times were even carrying on war with each other, but they were always sufficiently loyal to obey a call to arms from the king's representative. For a long time they formed the sole military force of the territory south of the Zambesi.

Many of them amassed great wealth and lived in a style of barbaric splendour, but they were always exposed to the chances of war, for they had no protection beyond what they could supply themselves. On some of the prazos large buildings were erected, with lofty rooms and thick walls to keep out the heat, and their proprietors were noted for the most profuse hospitality to the strangers and travellers who occasionally visited them. Their tables were spread with vegetables and fruit of almost all varieties, grown in their gardens, with the flesh of domestic and wild animals, the costliest wines of Europe, and imported delicacies of every description. They were waited upon by numerous slaves, never moved from their premises except in a palanquin, and lived altogether in luxurious ease, the condition perhaps most respected by the Bantu around them. But such people were not colonists, nor did they set an example of morality that was worthy of being followed by their dependents.

After the Batonga territory was thus parcelled out, adventurers sought to get possession of prazos elsewhere, and many were acquired by purchase from the monomotapa and from his subordinate chiefs. The adventurers did not scruple to use threats and commit acts of violence to obtain what they desired, until the monomotapa became seriously alarmed. In 1663 he sent a petition to the king to provide him with a bodyguard like that supplied to his predecessor, in order that he might be protected from insult and wrong. The king instructed the viceroy to comply with his request, but after a long delay, in 1668 he replied that he could not do so for want of men. The king also directed that the prazos which had been obtained by violence or by purchase from those who had no right to sell them should be restored to the monomotapa, who was a Christian prince; and an officer named Francisco Pires Ribeiro was sent to enforce the order. But the power of the king proved too weak in South-Eastern Africa to carry out a measure like this, which was in conflict with the opinions of the Portuguese landholders. They would not admit that the monomotapa was a Christian in anything but name, and instead of surrendering the prazos, they declared war against him.

The leader of this movement was a lawless individual named Antonio Rodrigues de Lima, who had previously been guilty of much misconduct. He and his associates got together an army of slaves and other dependents, with which they took the field. The monomotapa assembled his forces and marched to meet them, but when the armies were near each other, his captains rose in rebellion, murdered him, and submitted to the Portuguese, offering to admit as their head any one whom the white people might choose to appoint. Had he been their legitimate ruler in the right line of descent they would probably have preferred to die for him, but as he was in their eyes only a usurper he could command neither devotion nor respect. The Portuguese thereupon raised a young man of the ruling family to be monomotapa, expecting him to be a pliant tool in their

hands, but he proved an able chief, and found means to make himself respected. To keep him in check, indeed, the government was obliged to send Antonio Lobo da Silva, the most powerful of all the prazo holders, to reside with him as the king's representative.

A condition of things in which mere adventurers, acting without authority from the nominal government, could appoint and depose chiefs of tribes at their will, and could establish themselves as practically independent sovereigns over great tracts of country, can only be described as one of anarchy. Father Manuel de Gouvea, of the Jesuit mission, wrote to the prince regent in 1673 that a military force of two hundred men was needed to restore order and compel the lawbreakers to respect the rights of others; but the reply was that they could not be sent, as there were no means of meeting the expense. In 1675 a plan was devised in Lisbon which it was hoped might meet the difficulty. This was to send out orphan girls from charitable institutions, to give them prazos as dowries, and upon their marrying Portuguese to appoint their husbands to civil, judicial, and military offices. The eldest daughter was to inherit the estate, upon condition of marrying a Portuguese born in Europe, and in the same manner it was to descend to the next generation. After the death of the third proprietress it was to revert to the crown.

But this scheme could only be carried out on a very limited scale, and in places where the Bantu had lost all their former spirit. To acquire a prazo in the first instance a man needed knowledge of Bantu habits, a strong will, reckless daring, and power of governing others. He established his right, and his heirs, if they were at all capable, might succeed him. Certainly they never could command such devotion as the ancient hereditary chiefs, because the religious element of loyalty was wanting in their case; but as those chiefs had been displaced, and as the government of a strong man is willingly obeyed by the Bantu under such circumstances, they could remain the heads of clans.

It was very different when a stranger, a woman too, was appointed to rule over the people of a district. They would not submit to such an innovation, and therefore the scheme could not be applied in many instances.

The prazos went on increasing until there were no fewer than eighty-five of them. In other words, there were eighty-five Bantu clans under Portuguese, Goanese, or half-breed chiefs, almost constantly at strife with each other. Most of them had black headmen, or petty chiefs, serving under them, through whom their orders were carried out. It was the ancient feudal system of Europe transplanted in Africa, but that system where the king was weakest and the barons most turbulent. There was still a monomotapa, a tshikanga, and a kiteve, ruling over remnants of once powerful tribes; but the individuals who held these titles were little more than puppets. They were generally regarded with distrust and suspicion, and the slightest offence was sufficient pretext for war against them. The power of the Portuguese in South Africa had never been so great before, but the power of the Portuguese government had never been so small.

In his report to the viceroy in 1667, Father Manuel Barreto described Sena as containing thirty houses occupied by Portuguese and many others occupied by half-breeds. It was the principal place in the country, as the factory to which all the traders resorted was there, and its captain had greater power than any of the others, because with him rested decisions of peace and war. He was appointed by the captain of Mozambique. Tete contained forty houses of Portuguese and mixed breeds. Sofala was almost deserted, and no friar was then residing there. Its trade in gold was only five hundred pastas* a year, whereas nearly three thousand pastas a year were obtained at other places and exported through Kilimane. In the monomotapa's country

* The quantity contained in a pasta, or pasteboard case, is uncertain. The word is also used to signify a thin plate of metal, but evidently that is not what is meant here. Probably gold was kept in cases of a particular size, and the expression at the time would convey a definite meaning to those engaged in the trade.

there were trading stations, with Portuguese captains, at Dambarare, Ongwe, Luanze, and Tshipiriviri, and a captain with a considerable body of followers at the residence of the chief, to keep that barbarian in check. The three captains of Sena, Tete, and Sofala were still the only administrators of justice in the country, but they could be tried by the supreme court at Goa for pronouncing illegal sentences.

There were sixteen places of worship in the country. Of these, six belonged to the Company of Jesus, one—at Sena—was ministered to by a secular priest, and nine belonged to the Dominicans, though they had then only six missionaries in the field. The distribution of these places of worship was, nine in the lands occupied and ruled by Portuguese, two in Manika, and five in the country of the monomotapa.

Corruption must have been prevalent everywhere, for Father Barreto states that even the office of ecclesiastical administrator at Mozambique was purchased with money. He laid oppression also to the charge of the highest officer in rank in East Africa. Trading privileges with the Bantu on the mainland north of the Zambesi had been granted by the king to the inhabitants of the island of Mozambique, in order to encourage people to settle there, but the captain had deprived them of their rights that he might secure the profit for himself. They were obliged to purchase merchandise from him at his own price, instead of importing it from India, and in the same way they could sell to no one but him.

Father Barreto was an enthusiast, who had day dreams of a great Portuguese empire in Africa, stretching from the Red sea to the Cape of Good Hope. He does not seem to have been aware that the Dutch had formed a settlement at the turning-point of the coast; or if he was, he ignored it as an obstacle to the extension of Portuguese authority. He speaks of the cruelty, rapacity, and lawlessness of the holders of the prazos then in existence, and fears that the wrath of the Almighty may be poured out on them for their sins.

Yet he advises that they should be employed in conquering their Bantu neighbours, and that the system should be maintained until not only the whole of the mainland south of Abyssinia, but the island of Madagascar as well, was parcelled out in this manner. Then, indeed, there would be an empire surpassing the greatest in Asia. Then the Bantu could be compelled to wear cotton clothing and to dig for gold, and commerce would flourish and boundless wealth flow into the treasury of the king. As for mission work, it should be carried on with tenfold vigour. Instead of an ecclesiastical administrator, there should be an archbishop of Mozambique, with two or three suffragans and numerous zealous priests. Surely Cortes and Pizarro were more moderate in their schemes of conquest with slender resources than this Jesuit missionary at Sena.

As regular troops could not be provided to defend the country, the government at Lisbon was doing all that was in its power to promote colonisation. In 1665 an order was issued that no settler should be allowed to remove without special leave, and this was afterwards stringently enforced. In 1671 the prince regent instructed the viceroy to throw open the commerce of the Rivers to every one as soon as the contract then existing with the captain of Mozambique expired, principally with the object of inducing individuals to take up their residence in South-Eastern Africa, and in the following year this order was repeated, March 1673 being named as the date from which it was to have effect. It was anticipated that the volume of trade would be greatly increased by private competition, because the captains fixed very high prices for selling and very low ones for buying, so that there was little inducement for the black inhabitants of the country to collect gold and ivory. It was thought also that a larger sum would be realised from customs duties, after all expenses were met, than was paid by the captain for the monopoly, and that the administration could be conducted in a more satisfactory manner.

The viceroy Luis de Mendonça Furtado, however, brought forward many objections to unrestricted trade, and suggested an alternative, which the prince regent left to his discretion to carry out. Accordingly, in 1673 the commerce of South-Eastern Africa was taken over by the state, to be carried on for the benefit of the royal treasury, and to be conducted under the direction of a council at Goa by a board of six members at Sena. It was about as clumsy and expensive a scheme as could well be devised, and it was made still more cumbersome by the conferring of extensive judicial power upon the board at Sena, some of whose members were ecclesiastics. Under the new system all persons employed received salaries, and the civil and military authority were separated. An officer named João de Sousa Freire, with the title of commander in chief, was appointed head of the military branch of the government, with power to call out the residents in the villages and the holders of prazos with their retainers to perform service in war. One of his first acts was to get ready a force to attack the monomotapa if the silver mines which were supposed to be known to that chief were not delivered to the Portuguese.

The aspect of affairs along the whole coast was at this time exceedingly gloomy. The weakness of the Portuguese was so apparent that the Mohamedans took courage, and in various places to the north attempted to recover their independence. In 1670 they even attacked Mozambique, and though they did not succeed in getting possession of Fort São Sebastião, they inspired great alarm everywhere. In 1673 Father Manuel de Gouvea, a member of the board of commerce at Sena, wrote to the prince regent that without five or six small armed vessels it would be impossible to trade to the north; but they were not supplied through want of means. Matters at length reached such a pass that the viceroy Louis de Mendonça Furtado, finding his despatches produced no effect, sent the Jesuit father André Furtado to Lisbon to represent that all East Africa must be lost unless a military and naval force to maintain Portuguese

authority could be provided. North of the Zambesi the sheik of Pate and other petty rulers were in open rebellion, and south of that river the confusion and disorder caused by the jealousies and strife of the prazo holders were so great that —as one of the viceroy's advisers wrote—obedience to the government was regarded as a mere matter of courtesy.

The court at Lisbon was then compelled to make a supreme effort. In April 1677 Dom Pedro d'Almeida was appointed viceroy of India, and was directed to proceed to Goa and take over the administration, but very shortly afterwards to return to the rivers of Kuama to meet a force of six hundred soldiers that would leave the Tagus in five vessels in September. With these ships and men he was to restore order in East Africa, punishing the sheik of Pate first. During his absence from Goa the government there would be carried on by a board acting with full power, so that his whole time and thought might be devoted to the duty specially assigned to him. He was to remain two years in Africa, and then place João de Sousa Freire at the head of the local government and proceed again to Goa. The board of administration there was directed to give him all the assistance possible during his absence, though he was to have no control over it. Dom Pedro carried out these instructions, and though he died before everything was satisfactorily arranged, he managed to bring the petty sheiks of the north to submission once more and to establish comparative order south of the Zambesi.

The method of conducting trade on account of the government proved a complete failure. The council at Goa commenced with debt, not only for goods purchased and vessels chartered, but for the payment of thirty thousand xerafins, or nine million reis, to each of the prospective captains of Mozambique in return for relinquishing their rights. The goods it purchased in India were often bad in quality and unsuited to the requirements of the Bantu. The persons employed as agents were careless and indifferent, the costs were great, and the returns too small to meet the salaries

and other expenses. Under these circumstances, in March 1680 the prince regent issued instructions that the affairs of the council were to be wound up, and that the commerce of the country south of the Zambesi was to be thrown open to all his subjects in Europe, Asia, Brazil, and Africa, upon payment of twenty per cent of the value of imports and exports as customs duties. The existing debts were to be a charge upon these duties.

When this order reached Goa a council of state was convened, and every member voted for suspending it until representations of the consequences could be made and fresh directions be given. But in February 1681 Francisco de Tavora was appointed viceroy, and was instructed to throw open the trade and to see that the monomotapa was so treated as to preserve his friendship.

In September 1681 the new viceroy reached Goa. Soon afterwards he laid his instructions before the council, when it was decided that the prince regent's orders, issued after full deliberation and advice, must be carried out, no matter what the consequences might be. In November, therefore, a proclamation to that effect was issued, and the affairs of the board of commerce were placed in the hands of liquidators. Custom houses were speedily thereafter opened at the African ports, and every one was free to buy and to sell whatever he chose. In March 1682 Caetano de Mello de Castro was appointed governor and commander in chief of Mozambique and the Rivers, the name by which the territory south of the Zambesi and the Kilimane mouth was usually known. He was allowed a salary of eight thousand cruzados a year. With him were sent two or three hundred such soldiers as could be raised, to enable him to defend Fort São Sebastião and maintain his authority elsewhere, and he was particularly charged to see that the revenue was not defrauded by the system of unrestricted trade.

For a long time the government at Lisbon had been endeavouring to induce Portuguese men and women to settle in South Africa. In 1677 the troops that were sent out

were accompanied by a few artisans and labourers, and by eight reclaimed women from a house of mercy, some of whom took up their residence at Mozambique and others on the banks of the Zambesi. After their arrival all trace of them is lost, but they can only have prospered in such pursuits as the former residents had followed. Nowhere in the world could a European labourer have been more out of place than in Portuguese South Africa, and as for mechanics, half a dozen masons and carpenters would have been too many for all the building that was to be done. There were in Goa a number of Portuguese and Eurasians sunk in the lowest depths of poverty, mere mendicants in fact, and it was under the consideration of the government to remove them to Africa to colonise the country. Common sense prevailed, however, and this most injudicious scheme was not carried out. And now the same government that desired the increase of the European population adopted a commercial system under which the few white men in the villages and at the trading stations must be driven out.

Against all the advantages that are derivable from an Asiatic possession, one tremendous disadvantage must be set down: that its inhabitants may become entitled to privileges ruinous to their conquerors. In what remained of Portuguese Asia there were numerous mixed-breeds, and besides these a large class of Indian traders, commonly termed Canarins or Banyans. These people are among the keenest traffickers in the world, whether as merchants or as pedlars, and no white man can compete with them, as it costs them the merest trifle to live. They add nothing to the strength of a country, as they are wholly unfit to bear arms in war, and they contribute little or nothing to its revenue beyond what they pay in customs duties. They are the most dangerous of all immigrants into a territory with a warm climate, where equal rights when they are concerned can only mean the removal or ruin of the Europeans.

As soon as the commerce of South-Eastern Africa was open, the Canarins began to take part in it, and the inevi-

table result quickly followed. Within six years no fewer than seventeen Banyan houses of business—some of course very paltry establishments—were opened on the island of Mozambique alone, and the Portuguese trading community had dwindled to fifteen individuals. Sena and Tete were threatened with utter extinction as Portuguese villages, and the outlying stations were rapidly being lost to white men. The price of gold too had been raised by competition until there was no longer a fair profit to be gained on it.

The country was involved in other troubles as well. The prazo holders were discontented and sullen, foreseeing the loss of their means of acquiring wealth. Some of them had been obliged by the government to surrender estates obtained in an improper manner, and all of them resented recent legislation so keenly that they no longer troubled themselves to search for gold, in consequence of which the quantity obtained was much less than formerly. Their turbulent and violent conduct was irritating the monomotapa, and war was constantly expected. The customs dues collected were insufficient to defray the charges of the administration, paltry as these were, and no means could be devised to increase the revenue. It was indeed in contemplation to collect ivory in payment of overdue quitrent, and to levy a yearly poll tax of a matical of gold upon every adult black male, but a little reflection showed both these schemes to be impracticable. If the prazo holder would not pay his quitrent in the normal manner he would not pay it in ivory, and as for the poll tax, the blacks would certainly flee from Portuguese jurisdiction rather than submit to it.

King Pedro II took all these circumstances into consideration, and on the 20th of March 1690 issued orders that free trade in South-Eastern Africa was to cease at once. An attempt was to be made to form a company to carry it on, and in the mean time the royal treasury would undertake it again as in former times. These orders preserved the country for the Portuguese crown, but the Banyans had got a hold upon the commerce which could not be entirely

destroyed until 1783, when they were expelled from the country south of the Zambesi.

Caetano de Mello de Castro was succeeded as governor and commander in chief by Dom Miguel d'Almeida, whose term of office expired in 1688. Thomé de Sousa Correa, a very diligent and upright man, followed, and to him was entrusted the task of directing the commerce on behalf of the king. This he did with such care and ability that it yielded a considerable profit above all expenses, though the villages did not fully regain their European inhabitants.

Several years elapsed before a company could be formed with sufficient capital to undertake the trade. Some persons in India first subscribed for a number of shares, and a provisional charter was drawn up there, which was sent to Lisbon and altered by the king in council. As finally arranged, its principal clauses were: that any one in Portugal or India could subscribe for shares; that the royal treasury was to take part in it to the value of the vessels then engaged in the commerce and of the merchandise on hand; that every viceroy during his whole term of office should be a shareholder to the extent of fifteen thousand xerafins, which sum was to be deducted from the first payment of his salary and repaid to him when received in like manner from his successor; that the management of business should be entrusted to a board of five directors to be selected in the first instance by the viceroy from the largest shareholders, and afterwards, as vacancies occurred, by the viceroy from a double list of names presented to him by the remaining directors, that the company was to pay the same customs duties as individual traders had paid; that it was to pay yearly to the royal treasury fifty thousand cruzados towards the cost of the naval defence of India, thirty thousand cruzados, being the amount formerly paid by the captains of Mozambique for a monopoly of trade south of the Zambesi, and three thousand cruzados, being the amount formerly paid by the same official for a monopoly of the trade of the islands of Angosha; that the company was to

have an absolute monopoly of all the trade from Mombasa to Cape Correntes; that it should be entirely commercial in its character and not interfere with the different governments; and that the charter was to hold good for twelve years, with three years notice thereafter before it could be cancelled.

The chartered company thus formed came into existence in 1697, but the amount of capital subscribed was too small to enable it to carry on the commerce of South-Eastern Africa successfully, and the obligations imposed were too heavy for it to bear, so after a feeble attempt during the next three years to maintain itself, in 1700 it was dissolved, and the trade was again undertaken by the royal treasury. Just at this time expectations of great wealth, derived from reports of the richness of the pearl fisheries and from specimens of ore sent to Lisbon, were cherished by the king and his court, so that the failure of the company and the reversion of the trade to the treasury were not regretted. King Pedro indeed believed for a while that the Rivers were the most valuable oversea possession in his dominions. In this strain he, the lord of Brazil, which had then already begun to pour its wealth into the mother country, wrote of them, regretting only his want of means to develop their immense resources at once; but, as on so many occasions before, high hopes regarding South African treasures were doomed to end in bitter disappointment.

The disturbed condition of the country was unfavourable to the progress of mission work, though the decadence of the ruling Bantu families made the conversion of the people more easy than before. The Jesuits were strong in Mozambique, where they had a large convent, and where they were often called upon to aid the government with advice in political and commercial matters. At one time even the superintendence of the repairs of the fortress was entrusted to them by the king, who believed that they would be more likely to see the work carried out properly than the civil or military officials. At Sena they

had an establishment, and here also their services were requisitioned by the government for many purposes unconnected with religion. They were the most refined and most highly educated men of the day, so that they were naturally regarded as the most competent to give advice in all matters. Their reports are the clearest, best written, and far the most interesting documents now in existence upon the country. Compared with the ordinary state papers, they are as polished marble to unhewn stone.

In 1697 the Jesuits established a seminary at Sena for the education of the children of the Portuguese in the country and the sons of Bantu chiefs. This institution was aided by the state; and wealthy traders and prazo holders contributed largely to its support. At Tete they had also a mission, and further several stations along the river where they were favoured by prazo holders, and could thus remain notwithstanding the claim of the Dominicans to that territory as the sphere of labour assigned to them by royal order. Though the Jesuits were so active, they reported at a later date that their work among the Bantu at these places was almost fruitless. They had no difficulty in inducing people to call themselves Christians, but they could not persuade them to change their mode of living, to abandon polygamy, or to observe the ordinances of the church.

The order of Saint John of God had not yet sent any of its members to the Rivers, though in 1681 the hospital at Mozambique was entrusted to its care. This order was founded purposely to attend upon the sick, and its members were trained as hospital nurses are now. Previous to this date the sick sailors and soldiers at Mozambique had no other attendants than slaves, who acted under direction of the surgeons; but henceforward they were tenderly looked after. Nearly half a century later a shipwrecked Dutch traveller, named Jacob de Bucquoi, who was for several weeks an inmate of this hospital, wrote of it in terms of unbounded admiration. He said that no one, however rich, could be cared for and tended better than the sick were there,

without any exception, whether they were Portuguese or strangers.

The Dominican convent at Mozambique was still the principal station of that order in South-Eastern Africa, but the country south of the Zambesi was the field in which most of its missionaries laboured. Not long after the baptism of the monomotapa Domingos in 1652—the same who was murdered by his own captains eighteen years later—their zeal began to flag. In the time of their prosperity, as is often the case with men in other pursuits, the friars did not display the great qualities which characterised them during the period of trial. Some of them fell into habits of indolence, and others into a spirit of indifference. Clearly the introduction of foreign blood and the condition of the mother country were producing their natural effects. The ecclesiastical administrator at Mozambique, though he had not the same control over members of religious associations as over secular priests, threatened to introduce some other order, and actually proceeded to Goa with that object. There, however, he was induced by the provincial of the Dominicans to desist from his purpose, on condition that a commissary and visitor should be sent at once to the country south of the Zambesi, and that some active missionaries should accompany him.

Friar Francisco da Trindade was appointed commissary, and brought five associates with him. One of these, the father João de São Thomé, he stationed at Sofala, another, the father Damaso de Santa Rosa, he stationed with the monomotapa, the third, the father Diogo de Santa Rosa, he directed to renew the work that had been abandoned at Masapa, the fourth, the father Jorge de São Thomé, he directed to do the same at Ongwe; and the fifth, the father Miguel dos Archanjos, he sent to the Kiteve country to establish a mission. The commissary was a man of great activity, and during the time that he had the oversight of the mission everything went on well. He resided first at Sena, and made himself master of the Bantu dialect spoken

there, in which he prepared a catechism and another religious book termed a confessionario. He then proceeded to Tete, studied the dialect used by the clans in that part of the country, and translated his catechism into it. One of the sons of the monomotapa came under his influence, and was baptized and trained by him. This youth was afterwards sent to Goa, where he entered the Dominican order, and became known as the friar Constantino do Rosario. In another chapter it will be necessary to make a better acquaintance with him.

This period of activity, however, did not last long. There were energetic men of the Dominican order in South Africa at the close of the seventeenth century, but the spirit of languor in which Portugal and her foreign possessions were steeped embraced the great body of the friars also. Further many of them were Asiatics and Eurasians, and a few were Africans not half weaned from another creed, all quite unfit to carry on mission work unless under the close supervision of white men. Under these circumstances, though baptisms were numerous, real converts were few. In the interminable feuds of the country, stations were often destroyed, as Ongwe and Dambarare—the latter the principal gold market at the time—were in 1692. In 1696 Sofala was attacked by a powerful clan, which was repulsed, but a large portion of the back country was closed to Europeans during the next thirty-three years, and the station at the kiteve's kraal had to be abandoned. Without protection, without homes—much less church buildings,—the missionaries could have done very little except in the villages even if their zeal had not passed away.

It is impossible to ascertain how far westward missionaries had penetrated the country by this time, because they had no means of determining longitudes, and no descriptions of their travels are extant from which their routes can be traced. As they could not erect substantial buildings there are no ruins of churches to mark the sites of their stations, and even some of the old names of places mentioned in their

records have long been forgotten. On the southern bank of the Zambesi they had occupied Dambarare, a little higher up than the present station of Zumbo, but it is improbable that they had gone much farther. At a distance from the river there is no reason to suppose that they had advanced so far, and every reason to believe that they had not. There was more than sufficient for them to do in the well-known and long occupied parts of the Kalanga country.

At Dhlodhlo, in latitude 19° 40′ S., longitude 29° 25′ east of Greenwich, a few years ago the seal of a priest bearing the name Bernabe de Ataide encircling the symbol I H S, a silver cross and gold neck chain partly fused by fire, a little bell with the handle burnt off, a fused silver plate, and some other articles were found, which lead to the conclusion that an ecclesiastic once resided there, whose dwelling was destroyed by fire. All these articles were found close together, and were covered with earth twenty to thirty centimetres, or eight to twelve inches, in depth. Not far off were two small cannons, one of bronze, the other of iron, with the arms of Portugal stamped upon them, though to a certainty no military station ever existed near that locality. At Khami, a little more than an hour's ride on horseback west of Bulawayo, a cross of stones and the stone foundation of a small rectangular building such as a church or a European dwelling house have been discovered, but no one can say when or by whom they were constructed.

There were never any Portuguese trading stations in the southern or western parts of the Rhodesia of our day, the area in which the most numerous and the richest of the ancient gold mines are found was never occupied, though it may have been occasionally visited, by them. In early days, just as in more recent times, the trader followed close on the heels of the missionary. It is safe to assert that one was not long without the companionship of the other, and as there is not the slightest trace in written records, or in any other form, of Portuguese traders or their agents establishing themselves so far inland, how can the evidence of the

presence of Christian missionaries at Dhlodhlo and Khami be accounted for? There is but one way of doing so that the writer can suggest. When the Jesuits were expelled from the Portuguese dominions in 1759, it is quite within the bounds of possibility that some of those in Eastern Africa may have turned their steps towards what was then the distant interior, rather than abandon their work. To them such a course would be obeying the command of God rather than that of man. There is the difficulty of the two cannons in opposition to this conjecture, but it is not so great as at first sight it may seem. No present to gain the favour of a Bantu chief would be more acceptable than these, taken perhaps from some deserted fort, none that would be transported more readily by Bantu carriers. Records still to be sought for and published may throw some light upon this seeming mystery, at present no other explanation can be given than the above.

At this period and later when dealing with the Portuguese in South Africa one is never certain whether he is recounting the deeds of Caucasians, of Asiatics, of Africans, or of mixed breeds, unless he can trace their origin, which is not always possible. An individual with the name of a European grandee was as likely as not to be a negro or a half-caste from Goa. Who, for instance, would recognise a son of the kiteve under the name Dom Antonio Lançarote, who in 1681 applied to the king for permission to remove from Goa to Africa? If deeds performed are worthy of mention they should be related, but it would be more satisfactory if the nationality of the actors could be stated as well.

Since the accession of the house of Bragança to the throne of Portugal the closest friendship with England had existed, still English ships were causing much trouble and anxiety to the authorities on the eastern coast of Africa, though the British government was in no way responsible for what was being done by them. Some of these ships were avowedly pirates, similar to those that infested West Indian waters,

that plundered and scuttled vessels under every flag but their own. Their crews were composed of ruffians of every maritime nation, though the vessels were British built, and all the names of the officers that are known are English. Delagoa Bay and the ports on the coast of Madagascar afforded them convenient places for repairing, provisioning, and otherwise fitting out for cruises in search of booty. These pirates were for many years a cause of terror to navigators in the eastern seas, though they only murdered the crews of their prizes when they were apprehensive of danger to themselves should their prisoners live. Sometimes a ship left India, and was not heard of again for years. Such was the fate of the *Nossa Senhora da Ajuda*, which was captured by two pirates off the African coast, when all on board were put to death except one Malay boy who was kept as a slave. In 1682 these same pirates put into Mozambique, where one of them was wrecked, and the Malay gave information of the destruction of the Indiaman and also of a vessel bound from that island to Brazil with slaves, which had afterwards been captured. Fort São Sebastião was at the time provided with a fairly strong garrison, so the rovers were seized and sent to Goa for trial.

Another class was composed of ships that visited the coast for trading purposes in defiance of the English East India Company. They were either not provided with clearance papers from any English port, or they had papers giving some destination beyond the limits assigned in the East India Company's charter, so that in each case they were liable to be seized wherever there was sufficient force to capture them. Except at Mozambique no such force existed on the south-eastern coast of Africa or on the shores of Madagascar, which they therefore frequented. It had been the custom for nearly a century and a half to send a pangayo occasionally from Mozambique to Inhambane and Delagoa Bay to barter ivory from the Bantu, and in 1685 one left for that purpose. Upon her return, Domingos

Lourenço, her master, reported that at Delagoa Bay he had found five English trading vessels provided with merchandise of a better quality than his, and that they had bought all the ivory and ambergris in the surrounding country.

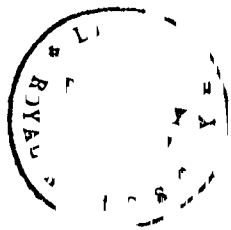
On the 6th of August 1686 the governor of Mozambique, Dom Miguel d'Almeida, and his council met to consider this matter. The council consisted of the lieutenant-general Francisco d'Aviles Ramires, the castellan Paschoal d'Abreu Sarmento e Moraes, the factor João Machado Sacoto, the rector of the Jesuit college Father Manuel Freire, the vicar of the parish church Father Domingos Dias Ribeiro, and the superior of the Dominican convent Friar João da Magdalena. The governor and council unanimously resolved not to send a pangayo to Delagoa Bay that year, because most probably English ships would continue to frequent that port and she might be robbed or insulted by them, and further because there would be little or nothing to obtain in barter, as that part of the country had been thoroughly cleared of its marketable produce.

This resolution was communicated to Dom Rodrigo da Costa, governor-general of India, who overruled it, and gave directions that a pangayo should be sent to the bay again, even at a pecuniary loss, in order that the English might not take possession of it under the pretext that it was neglected by the Portuguese. Our countrymen continued to trade there, and from an account given by one of them, Robert Everard by name, it is seen that they set about their business with characteristic energy. Everard was in Delagoa Bay in 1687, in the ship *Bauden*. They had materials ready on board, and put together a small vessel, which was sent up and down the coast to trade for ivory. At the bay itself they obtained only two thousand kilogrammes until some chiefs went on board, whom they put in irons and detained until more was brought for sale. One day a small boat arrived with three Englishmen in her, who had formed part of the crew of a trading vessel like the one they had put together. This vessel had been wrecked on the coast, and

the boat's crew had suffered greatly from hunger before they reached the bay, for when they went ashore to try to get food the black people robbed them of their clothing, and would give them nothing to eat. The *Bauden* lay there at anchor three months, and then sailed for Madagascar.

So matters continued until the end of the century, both English and Portuguese vessels frequenting the bay; but then the Portuguese abandoned it for many years. Their pangayo was seized when at anchor by a pirate ship that sailed in under French colours, and was plundered and destroyed, though most of her crew managed to escape to the shore. Then the effort to carry on a profitless and dangerous trade was given up, and the next century was far advanced before the Portuguese flag was again seen anywhere on the mainland south of Inhambane.

Note.—On page 14 mention is made of a few chipped flakes and other weapons of stone much larger than those ordinarily used by Bushmen, which have been picked up in the interior of South Africa, and which have given rise to an opinion that the country may once have been occupied by more robust savages. Dr. Peringuey, director of the South African Museum, has obtained a number of such stones, though they are not yet arranged for exhibition. They were merely stones in process of manufacture into weapons of ordinary size, which were lost or thrown away before completion. One of them, a chipped spearhead, is of such weight that Goliath of Gath could not have used it.



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